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A
JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDISH AMBASSY,
IN THE YEARS M.DCC.LIII. AND M.DCC.LIV.

Vol. I.

A
JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDISH AMBASSY,
IN THE YEARS M.DC.LIII. AND M.DC.LIV.

FROM THE
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
AND IRELAND.

WRITTEN BY THE AMBASSADOR
THE LORD COMMISSIONER ^{Sir Bulstrode} WHITELOCKE.

WITH
AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. BECKET AND P. A. DE HONDT, IN THE STRAND,
BOOKSELLERS TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCE OF WALES
AND BISHOP OF OSNABURGH.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE AUGUSTUS LORD VISCOUNT LUMLEY.

MY DEAR LORD,

THE papers which I have the honour to present to your Lordship, were drawn up by one whose singular praise it is, that he excelled as a man, a gentleman, a lawyer, and a statesman. I received them, (soon after the publication of his *Disquisitions on the Government of England*,) from his Grandson CARLETON WHITELOCKE of Prior's Wood near Dublin, Esq; by the favour of Lord Chancellor BOWES late of the Kingdom of Ireland, Archbishop SECKER late primate of all England, and ARTHUR ONSLOW, Esq; late speaker of the Commons of Great Britain: these very respectable personages being of opinion, that the *Journal of the*
a *Swedish*

DEDICATION.

Swedish Ambassy was due to the Publick; as a very considerable part of the author's *Memorials of English affairs*, the candor, accuracy, and usefulness of which work are so universally allowed.

It appears, by the first paper of the *Appendix*, upon what occasion, and with what intention, the Lord Commissioner WHITELOCKE put together that great work, which he chose to intitle *Remembrances of the Labours of Whitelocke, in the Annales of his Life, for the Instruction of his Children*. But such a work, and by such a father, is become the inheritance of every child whose abilities, and station in life, may at any time hereafter call upon him to deliberate for his Country; and for his family and person, as parts of the great whole. And I confess myself to be one of those who lament the suppression of that branch of the *Annales* which relates to the author himself, in his private capacity. For I am persuaded, with some better judges, that they would have afforded great pleasure, as well as instruction to the world, in their entire form. The first volume, containing the first twenty (and more) years of his life, may one day see the light; but the greatest part has hitherto escaped my inquiries.

Instruction

DEDICATION.

Instruction by precept is slow, transient, and too often ineffectual for want of being duly understood: but instruction by example is quick, strong, permanent, and flattering to the mind in the light of a self-instructor. And this is founded in the nature of man, who acquires his general knowledge in this way. For precepts, or principles, are no other than general inferences from particular experiences; which are best understood, as well as best applied, by those who make them. And thus chiefly it is, that they become profitable helps to the mind; and the true grounds of judgment, as well as action.

In the following pages the political man, that master-builder! will find no contemptible model of doing business; the family man may also extract that which suits his laudable purposes; and the individual the moral and (let me say) the religious man, who alone adorns the rest, will see his form delineated, and be instructed where to seek his end. I assure myself, my dear Lord LUMLEY, that not a single act, amongst the many which occur in these papers, whether of prudence, fortitude, temperance, or justice, will escape your observation: but on the contrary, be molded into your very frame, and constitution. With respect to historical facts, the

DEDICATION.

curious searcher for anecdotes will here find an abundant treasure; and be enabled to fill up divers links in the chain of causes of certain events; and to mark more particularly the characters of the respectable personages, who figured during a remarkable period. Perhaps also, it may not be unprofitable to note the more rational, and temperate grounds, of some extraordinary occurrences.

Our author, being called to this important embassy by the voice of his country at a very critical time, seems to have entered upon his work with all the necessary qualifications. He was a man of sense, learning, integrity, spirit, temper, experience in business, and knowledge of the world: able to distinguish, choose, and execute whether by persuasion, or otherwise. He was thoroughly versed in the history, constitution, laws, revenues, force, trade and interests of his own country, and it's connections with others; and he made it his immediate study to be well informed of these very material particulars, respecting Sweden. Some sketches of this kind, howsoever imperfect, are preserved in the *Appendix*, as proofs of his method of proceeding; and more might have been added. Finally, he had a perfect intelligence concerning persons, and occurrences.

D E D I C A T I O N.

rences. And the event was answerable: for he perfected the important trust committed to his charge, surmounting all difficulties, without the least chicane of embassy; and he returned safe to his home laden with honours, in very adverse times, together with one hundred persons, all of whom he had carried out in his retinue.

But I will not anticipate such remarks as your Lordship cannot fail to make on perusing these papers: concerning which I have no other merit, than that of conveying them to you as faithfully as I could. They are printed literally from the author's own manuscript, which will be deposited in the British Museum for public inspection. Some particulars in the Appendix are collected from other manuscripts of the author and of his amanuensis; and these will likewise be deposited in due time. Perhaps an apology may be expected for such errors of the press as an unavoidable absence may have occasioned: but upon a careful revision, I have the pleasure to find that these errors are few; and being chiefly in the pointing, they cannot obstruct the sense to a careful reader.

The

DEDICATION.

The following particulars, respecting the author's family, I received from one of his grandsons; and I beg leave to subjoin them, in order to correct a mistake in a former publication.

Lord Commissioner, otherwise Sir BULSTRODE, WHITELOCKE was the son of Sir JAMES WHITELOCKE knight, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench in the reign of K. JAMES Ist, and originally of an ancient family in Bedfordshire. Our author's first marriage was with a Miss BENNET of the city of London, by whom he had one son Sir JAMES WHITELOCKE, who was settled at Trumpington near Cambridge, and left two sons, both of which died unmarried. His second wife was FRANCES daughter of Lord WILLOUGHBY of Parham, and of FRANCES daughter of the Earl of RUTLAND: and by this second wife our author had nine children. His third wife was the widow WILSON (whose maiden name was CARLETON) who survived him; and by her also, he had several children. The eldest of this last marriage inherited Chilton Park in Wiltshire; and his son is now living. And at this day, of all Sir BULSTRODE's numerous issue, there are none left in the male line but Mr. WHITELOCKE late of Chilton Park aforesaid; Mr. CARLETON WHITELOCKE (who communicated

DEDICATION.

communicated this note and the manuscripts of the Embassy) and his son Mr. WHITELOCKE, now a student in the Middle Temple.

It remains, that I beg your Lordship's pardon for this address, which was drawn up in much too great a hurry, in the midst of very different employment; far remote from the necessary helps, and even from the book which is the subject matter. Such as it is, do me the favour to accept it in good part: and be assured that I am, with great truth and regard,

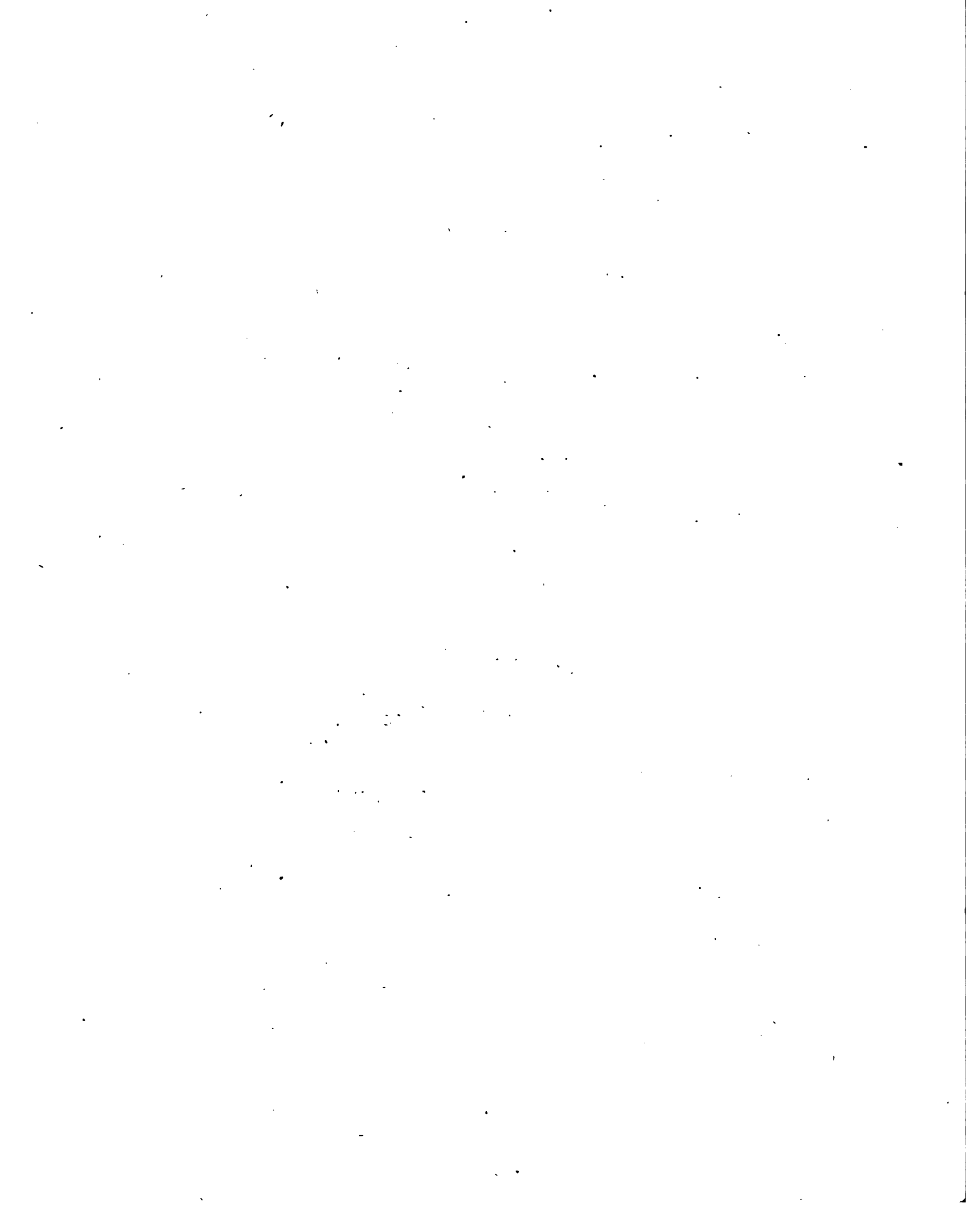
My dear Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most affectionate Servant,

MUSEUM, LONDON,
Jan^y. 1, 1772.

CHA. MORTON



A
JOURNAL
OF THE
SWEDISH AMBASSY.
IN THE YEARES M.DC.LIII. AND M.DC.LIV.

AUGUST 23, 1653.

THE lord commissioner Whitelocke being in Bedfordshire, att the house of his kind friend Mr. Cokaine, he received letters from London from his old and faithfull fervant Mr. Daniell Earle ; part of them were to this effect.

“ When I waited on Sir Charles Oulsey, he was pleased
“ to tell me, that you were named by the councell of
“ state to goe ambassador into Sweden ; and that my lord
“ generall had undertaken to write to your lordship about
“ it. I presume ere this you have heard from him.”

With this Whitelocke was much surprised, it being altogether unexpected, and of vast concernment to him and his
Vol. I. A family,

1653. family, as well as to the publique; yett he shewed not
 much disturbance att the letter, butt communicated it to
 Aug. 23. his wife, and some few friends then with him, whoe were
 unwilling to believe it: butt his wife was much disquieted,
 whom Whitelocke sought to comfort, and perswade to a
 constant submission to the will of God, and not to be
 troubled att this or any other ill newes; since none could
 doe any thing against them, or to the least prejudice of
 them, butt what God should permit, who would cause all
 things to worke together for their good.

The letter was often read and paraphrased uppon, and
 severall meanings of it collected: butt Whitelocke saw it
 to be positive in the relation and newes, that he was named
 by the councill of state to go ambassador to Sweden; and
 the sence thereof was plaine, and too easy to be under-
 stood, though the grounds and occasions of this nomina-
 tion were not expressed.

24. Much discourse was between Whitelocke, and his wife
 and friends, uppon yesterdayes newes; and how it should
 come to passe, that he should be named for this employ-
 ment, when another had bin named for it before, the lord
 viscount L'Isle, eldest son to the earle of Leycester,
 who had undertaken it. Whitelocke told them, that it was
 true, that in the long parlement, before it was invaded
 and broken by Cromwell's forces, (which was an act of no
 lesse imprudence and rashnes, than of insolence,) that the
 lord viscount L'Isle was named by that parlement, and voted
 to goe ambassador to Sweden; that he accepted of the
 employment, and had begun to make some preparations for
 it. Butt Whitelocke told them withall, which they remem-
 bered, that before the lord viscount L'Isle was named,
 Whitelocke was named in that parlement to goe ambassador
 to

to Sweden ; butt he was not then, nor is now, ambitious 1653.
 of that honor, but sollicitated against it ; and it was not then
 prosecuted, butt the lord viscount L'Isle named afterwards, ^{Aug. 24.}
 who undertook the service, received money in part for the
 defraying of his expences : and how it should come to
 passe since, that he should be excused, and Whitelocke to
 be nominated for it, was hard to be apprehended. White-
 locke and his friends still expected to have further intelli-
 gence from London about this buisnes, butt none came :
 it being usuall for those gentlemen who voted his going to
 Sweden, to lett affayres remaine in suspence till called
 upon by such as are more particularly concerned in them.
 Whitelocke held it not convenient for him (as yet) to take
 any notice of this vote of the councell, nor to hasten to
 London, butt continued in his retirement ; though not a
 little interrupted therein by the letter from Mr. Earle,
 yett he enjoyed his privacy and recreations.

Letters were written this day by Whitelocke to Earle, 25.
 that if he heard any thing further touching the buisnes of
 Sweden, he should informe his master thereof : yett not to
 be inquisitive about it, nor to speake with any of the
 councell (except Sir Charles Oulsey) concerning it ; least
 therby, the buisnes might be reminded and revived, which
 Whitelocke much rather desired, as to himselfe, might for
 ever dye and be forgotten.

The cautions which he gave to his old servant were fully
 and punctually observed by him ; and, the longer it was
 before Whitelocke heard further touching this buisnes, the
 more his hopes were increased that he might have the good
 fortune never to heare more of it.

1653. No further newes yett came of the buisnes of Sweden ;
 ~~~~~  
 Aug. 26. and Whitelocke, wife, and friends, were willing to persuade themselves, that a buisnes of this consequence could not be so long neglected, and nothing to be done in it, butt that (as to Whitelocke) the same was layd aside, and that they should heare no more of it, which they promised themselves ; neverthelesse, they were not without some dayly feare and expectation of that which they desired not to know : and, in the meane time, the gentlemen, who managed all att London, for a time forgatt this buisnes, as a smalle matter scarce worthy their remembrance ; although themselves often acknowledged, that the safety and good of this common-wealth, and of the whole protestant interest, did depend uppon it.

27. Still were Whitelocke, wife, and friends pleased, that no further newes came of the Swedish buisnes, though they heard of it too soon afterwards ; and, in the meane time, they were full of thoughts and discourses, why the lord viscount L'Isle should be excused from this service, which before he had undertaken ; and, on the other hand, why Whitelocke should be the man pitched uppon for this service, whom they imagined not to be in so much favour with Cromwell and his friends, as to be preferred to any honorable imployment by them : he was left out of Cromwell's councill, and out of that assembly which now sate and called themselves a parlement ; and he made no suit to be of either of those councill.

To this it was said, that the lord viscount L'Isle might be usefull heer in Cromwell's affayres, and was of the councill and little parlement, and therefore could not so well be spared as Whitelocke, who, (although he were not much in their favour who governed, whom he had opposed in  
 4 their

their exorbitant courtes,) was the more likely to be sent 1653.  
abroad, that they might therby be quit of his further op-  
posing them. Aug. 27.

The Lord's day, after publique exercifes of religious 28.  
worship, Whitelocke retired himfelfe to his private medita-  
tions 'uppon the holy word of trueth, the greateft and  
higheft comfort to a foul. He confidered the vanity of  
earthly honours and preferments in this world, the incer-  
tainty, toyle, and daunger in them. He confulted his own  
heart, and found not the leaft inclination to accept of the  
high imployment, and honor, to which he heard the coun-  
cell had voted him; butt much rather wifhed a continu-  
ance of his privacy, and an exemption from publique  
charge and offices, from which he expected rather a further  
and totall difmiffion, which would have bin more content-  
ment and fatisfaction to his thoughts, then the intended  
imploymēt, or any preferment which Cromwell and the  
prefent powers could putt uppon him. His wifhes and  
prayers were, that he might be excufed therof (if God faw  
it good) and might continue in the private injoyment of  
the ordinances of God, and of the comfort of his wife and  
family.

The lord viscount L'Ifle, more particularly concerned in 29.  
the buifnes of Sweden then others, and to gett himfelfe  
wholly excufed from it, about this time (as Whitelocke was  
afterwards informed) did putt Cromwell in mind, that the  
councell had ordered letters to be written by his excellency,  
and by Sir Gilbert Pickering, to Whitelocke, to fignify to  
him the councell's vote in this buifnes; and that the letters  
were not yett written.

Wheruppon

1653. Wheruppon Cromwell and Pickering conferred together  
 about it : and Cromwell's secretary was appointed to draw  
 Aug. 29. up a letter to Whitelocke for that purpose, to be sent to him  
 if he were in town ; or into the countrey if he were there,  
 as some informed he was. In the meane time Whitelocke  
 neglected not to ride abroad, and take the fresh aier in  
 the countrey ; a pleasure much beyond the insinuating  
 cringes of cappes and knees, and more valuable than the  
 deare earned fees and salaries.

30. The proceedings att Whitehall were slowe in the Swedish  
 buisnes, and Whitelocke had no cause to hasten them, butt  
 to wish them yett slower ; he was not grieved that there  
 came hitherto noe further intelligence about them, nor any  
 summons for his repayre to London, which he every day  
 expected : butt whilest he had the liberty, tooke the plea-  
 sure of riding forth into the open fields, and inclosed  
 grounds, contemplating on the goodnes of God, who had  
 bestowed on Englishmen so pleasant, healthfull, and fruit-  
 full a countrey as this island ; and, the inconsideratenes of  
 those who will leave such a countrey to please their fond  
 humors of travayling to see forrein countreys, when they  
 have a better att home ; and the unhappines of those who  
 are sent abroad uppon publique errands, and instead of  
 recompence for their hazards and service, are more likely  
 to incurre displeasure, and perhaps distruction.

31. According to directions, Cromwell's secretary brought  
 to his master, and Sir Gilbert Pickering, the draught of a  
 letter to be sent from them to Whitelocke ; butt the frame  
 of the letter did not please Cromwell, so that he cast it by,  
 and said he would write a letter himselfe to be sent to  
 Whitelocke.

All

All this time Whitelocke heard no further intelligence <sup>1653.</sup> from London about this Swedish journey, notwithstanding <sup>Aug. 31.</sup> that he had written againe to Mr. Earle to make a wary inquiry about it; which it seems was so wary, that he gained no more intelligence concerning this matter than what he had first sent unto his master: who had enough therby to exercise his thoughts, and to give a disturbance to the pleasing retirement which he before that injoyed, and which he had both before and since that time learned, by too sad experience, to be the best and safest condition for any man in his earthly pilgrimage and labours of this life; and that there is no rest, no abiding place, to be mett with heer below.

S E P T E M B E R.

## S E P T E M B E R.

1653. **T**HE buisnes of Sweden was still deferred: butt it being intimated to Whitelocke, that the counsell had ordered letters to be written to him about that buisnes, and to require his repayre to London; he and his friends tho't it now fitt for him to returne thither, and to indeavor if he could to prevent any further progresse in that affayre, as it related to himselfe.

Septemb.  
1.

He therefore appointed within a day or two to begin his journey; which being taken notice of, divers persons of quality of the neighbourhood came to take their leaves of him, expressing (as they had often done before) much civility and respect to him. Some of them, in discourse, seemed to have heard of his being designed to goe ambassador; butt Whitelocke held it not fitt, nor delighted to take any notice therof, nor to owne it.

2. The lord viscount L'Isle againe reminded Cromwell of the letter to be sent to Whitelocke; and Cromwell theruppon, himselfe drew a letter, and shewed it to Pickering, who seldome disliked what was done by Cromwell: they both signed the letter; and it, being sealed, was delivered to a messenger with commaund to find out Whitelocke, and to deliver the letter to him; who was yett in the pleasant and healthful countrey aier, and enjoymment of the recreations there, butt he must prepare for his journey to London the next day.

The

The messenger of the councill was at Whitelocke's house at Chelsey, to inquire for him, and to deliver the letter to him; butt the servants answered, that their master was not yett come to towne, butt that he was, this night expected there. He came (though late) to his house at Chelsey, where his servants informed him of the messenger's having been there, and saying, that he would come again to-morrow. This was unwellcome newes to Whitelocke's wife and friends, who were troubled att it; butt himselfe, submitting all to the will of God, was least disquieted.

1653.  
Sept. 3.

This comming of the messenger occasioned new discourses about this buisnes, and renewed the fears and troubles of his nearest relations, frustrating all their hopes that the buisnes was layd aside.

The messenger of the councill kept his word; and this morning (although the Lord's day) before Whitelocke was out of his bed, brought the generall's letter to him; the copy whereof was this.

*For the Right Honourable the Lord WHITELOCKE,  
One of the Commissioners of the Seale. These.*

MY LORD,

“ The councill of state, having thoughts of putting your  
“ lordship to the trouble of being extraordinary ambassador  
“ to the queen of Swizland, did think fitt not to impose  
“ that service uppon you, without first knowing your own  
“ freedome thereunto; wherefore they were pleased to com-  
“ maund our services in making this addresse to your lord-  
VOL. I. B “ ship;



1653. "ship, and hereby we can assure you of a very large con-  
 fidence in your honor and abilities for this employment.  
 Sept. 4. "To which we begging your answer, do rest,

"My lord,

"your humble servants,

SEPTEMBER 2,  
 1653.

"O. CROMWELL.  
 "GIL. PICKERING."

This letter was all written with Cromwell's own hand; and upon the communicating of it by Whitelocke to his friends with him, severall interpretations were made upon the words of the letter; as those, "not to impose the service," seemed to allow some liberty and hopes to gett off from it, more than afterwards he found.

Others noted the words of courtship, of "honor and abilities," to declare their expectation, that he should undertake what they judged him so fitt for; but Whitelocke thought most proper to know his meaning from himselfe, and for that end to waite on him the next day.

In the evening, collonel Sidney, brother to the lord viscount L'Isle, came to visit Whitelocke; and (as some supposed) sent by his brother to sift and try whether Whitelocke were like to undertake what he had left.

All the averfeness, that could be to it, was expressed by Whitelocke, who prayed the collonel ingeniously to declare the reason of his brother's declining this service; whether he scrupeld the authority of those that were to send him, or doubted

doubted the successe of the treaty, or avoided the daungers 1653.  
 of the journey; or what it was, after his having undertaken Sept. 4.  
 the service, which occasioned him to decline it.

The collonel answered, that if his brother had scrupeld the authority, he would not have bin of their councell and parliament; that he held the authority of the last parliament; when they designed him for this ambassy, and the present powers (as to legality) much alike; that he judged the treaty very probable to have good successe; that the daungers of the journey he confessed to be great, butt much greater to his brother than another, by reason of his want of health; that when he was appointed to goe, it was in summer, butt now the winter was coming on; and that he was of such a constitution, that he hardly could endure the cold of England, much lesse of Sweden: and he protested seriously, that he thought the employment honourable, not difficult; and that the only cause of his brother's desire to be now excused from it was his want of health, and no other reason.

After he was gone, came the lord commissioner L'Isle to Whitelocke, to bid him wellcome home; he most earnestly perswaded Whitelocke to undertake the service, as that which would be a very greathonor and advantage to him and his family, and to his profession, whereas his refusall of it would extreamly indaunger him and his fortune; that those in power would be highly offended att it, and all clamours of persons discontented att any thing that he had done would be lett loose upon him, and favoured against him; and though he were free from the least corruption, yet in these times, it was not prudent to put a man's selfe upon the daunger of complaints, and to judges not his friends; but his accepting the service would be honourable, safe, and mightily obliging

1653. obliging those in power, and prove the greatest good that  
 could be to him and his.  
 Sept. 4.

Some supposed that L'Isle had a further reach than he mentioned, in his perswasion of Whitelocke : he feared the present parliament would strike att the chancery to take it away, which had been moved among them ; and he thought Whitelocke undertaking this service, might be a good means to prevent that prejudice to him ; and that he might be the greater man in Whitelocke's absence.

Many other arguments and discourses they had about it, till the lateness of the evening parted them.

5. Early in the morning Whitelocke went to Pickering, who told him, that he was named nullo contradicente ; that it was intended for his honor, would not be forced uppon him, butt well taken, if accepted by him.

Whitelocke acquainted him with his objections, and his wife's present condition ; of which Pickering seemed very sensible : they went together to the generall, who presently came to them, and they had this discourse.

*Wh.* My lord, I received your excellent letter butt yesterday, and am now come to waite uppon you to return my humble thanks for the great honor done me, in being judged worthy of so high a trust ; but I begge your excellency's consideration of my want of abilities, both of body and mind for this service, and the season of the year ; besides, there are some things relating to my private family, wherewith I have acquainted Sir Gilbert Pickering, which are of no small concernment to me.

*Pick.*

*Pick.* That is, my lord, that his lady is neer her time of 1653.  
being brought to-bed.

Sept. 5.

*Wh.* My lord, I am very free to serve the common-wealth in any thing within my capacity ; and hope they will not expect from me what will be so great prejudice to me and my family, as this imployment now would be.

*Cromwell.* I am very sorry that the letter came no sooner to you.

*Pick.* I confes, it was my fault.

*Crom.* Sir Gilbert Pickering would needs write a very fine letter ; and when he had done, did not like it himsele. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that letter to you. And the buisnes is of exceeding great importance to the common-wealth, as any can be ; that it is : and there is no prince or state in Christendome, with whom there is any probability for us to have a friendship, butt only the queen of Sweden. She hath sent severall times to us, but we have returned no ambassy to her, only a letter by a young gentleman ; she expects an ambassador from us, and if we should not send a man of eminency to her, she would thinke herselfe slighted by us : and she is a lady of great honor, and stands much upon ceremonies.

*Wh.* The buisnes being of so great concernement (as indeed it is) there is the more need of a person qualified with abilities for so great a charge which I have not, as your excellency and all that know me will conclude ; and I know best my own defects. I want experience in forein affayres, and matters of state ; in language and ceremony, of which the queen is so great a judge, and a lady that will soon discern

1653. cerne my difabilities, and make advantage thereof; nor will  
 Sept. 5. she look upon me, as a person of eminency fitt to be sent  
 to her. So that (with submission to the judgment of your  
 excellency and the councell) I must conclude my selfe altogi-  
 ther unfitt for this very weighty and high imployment,  
 whereof divers other in the nation are fare more capable  
 then I am.

*Crom.* The councell have pitched upon you unanimously,  
 as the fittest man in the nation for this service; we know  
 your abilities, having long conversed with you; we know  
 you have languages, and have travelled, and understand  
 the interest of Christendome; and I have known you in the  
 army, to indure hardships, and to be healthful and strong,  
 and of mettle, discretion, and parts most fitt for this im-  
 ployment: you are so indeed; really, no man is so fitt for it  
 as you are. We know you to be a gentleman of a good fa-  
 mily, related to persons of honor; and your present office  
 of commissioner of the seale will make you the more ac-  
 ceptable to her. I doe earnestly desire you to undertake it,  
 wherein you will doe an act of great merit, and advantage  
 to the common-wealth, as great as any one member of it can  
 performe; and which will be as well accepted by them: the  
 buisnes is very honourable, and exceeding likely to have  
 good successe. Her publique ministers heer have already  
 agreed upon most of the materiall and maine points of the  
 buisnes; if it had not bin such an imployment, we would not  
 have putt you upon it: the buisnes of trade, and of the  
 funds, and touching the Dutch, are such as there cannot  
 be any of greater consequence.

*Wh.* Your excellency will pardon me if I cannot subscribe  
 to your favourable opinion of me; and I should be sorry,  
 that a buisnes of so great concernement should suffer under  
 so

so weake a management as by my hand : besides, that which 1653.  
 Sir Gilbert Pickering is pleased to tell you of my wife's con-  
 dition, is, to my private comfort, of as high consequence as <sup>Sept. 5.</sup>  
 may be. I would not seem unkind or ungratefull to such a  
 wife ; and this time of the year, it is hard for me to be putt  
 uppon so difficult and daungerous a journey.

*Crom.* I know my lady is a good woman, and a religious  
 woman, and will be contented to suffer a little absence of  
 her husband for the publique good ; and for the time of the  
 year, really the life of the buisnes consists in the dispatch  
 of it att this time ; the Dutch are tampering with the queen,  
 butt she holds them off, expecting to hear from us.

*Wh.* I see your excellency is stayed for. I shall have some  
 occasions into the country ; and about a fortnight hence I  
 will waite on you agayne ; and in the meane time, you will  
 give me leave to consider of this buisnes.

*Crom.* I pray, my lord Whitelocke, do not thinke of so  
 long a time ; butt lett me intreate you to accept of the im-  
 ployment, and to return your answer within a few dayes  
 to me.

*Wh.* I shall attend your excellency.

After this and much more discourse to the same effect  
 Whitelocke returned, and related the same to his wife and  
 friends, among whom he found differing judgments ; his  
 wife full of tears and objections against it, his eldest son for  
 it, youth making slight of daungers, and himselfe hoping  
 to goe with his father.

His

1653. His eldest daughter, now grown a woman, and of good parts, was much against it, fearing to be deprived of a loving father, as she was of her deare mother; and she expressed much love and tendernes to him, and to her mother, sisters, and brethren.

Other friends were for his going, chiefly to create and keep a considerable interest in the generall, who did what he pleased, and in the army and present powers; which might be a shield and advantage to him, and his family: and some of them most insisted upon the promoting of the Protestant interest in these parts, whither he was to goe.

6. Little else but the buisnes of Sweden was the discourse in Whitelocke's house; his wife was full of it, took all occasions to declare her mind, and give her faithfull advice to her husband in it: some of their discourse containing the grounds of debate, not only with her, butt with others, (and this worke being intended for his own family) is therefore inserted, and may seem the lesse triviall.

*Wife.* I perceive the generall is most earnestly set upon it, to send you this journey; butt I beg of you not to yield to him: for all his power, doe not prejudice your selfe and family.

*Wh.* His power is great, and hard to be opposed; butt I shall not sticke to doe it, to preserve you and my children, as well as my selfe. I desire you to moderate your passions and tears, least you bring sicknes upon your selfe, which will be worse than this journey to me.

*Wife.*

*Wife.* How can I forbear tears at the feare and thought of parting with you, and daunger never to see you againe? 1653.  
Sept. 6.

*Wh.* I see no such daunger in it.

*Wife.* You see others refuse it ; and then they pitch upon you to undertake it : and if it were so full of honor and advantage, why should others then decline it ?

*Wh.* I have the Generall's word, that it is so intended to me.

*Wife.* So you had his letter that they would impose nothing on you ; and yett you see how earnestly they presse this upon you : he means no good to you, butt would be rid of you.

*Wh.* Why should he desire to be rid of me, when I may be serviceable to him heer ?

*Wife.* Though you are serviceable in some things, yet you are not through paced for them in all things which they would have you to doe ; you refused to act in the great buisnes ; you opposed the breaking of the parlement, and other unjust things.

*Wh.* Had I not done so, you and I had not mett to gither.

*Wife.* It was the first thing I inquired of you ; my first husband nor you were engaged ; if you had, I should not have bin engaged to you. I believe you lost by it much of the generall's favour ; and he would take this occasion to



1653. lay you aside, that you might be no hinderance to his further  
 Sept. 6. designes.

*Wh.* What further designs can he have? He exercises more power than any king of England ever had, or claymed.

*Wife.* His ambition is higher than we can imagine: and you have often declared yourselfe for the law and rights of the people; which, if they stand in his way, he will lay them, or you, or any thing aside.

*Wh.* I believe he would doe so.

*Wife.* He takes you to be such a person, and therefore would now send you out of the way.

*Wh.* If I be so ill thought of, it will be better for me to be out of the way, than to be heere, to crosse and provoke them yett more.

*Wife.* Butt to be out of the way to hazard your life, will be sad for me: better to retire and live privately in the country.

*Wh.* Nothing would be more pleasing to me in this world.

*Wife.* Consider that two who were sent abroad have bin murdered; and is there not cause to feare the like may be attempted on you: it makes my heart to tremble; if you love me and your children, doe not expose yourselfe to these apparent daungers.

*Wh.* It

*Wh.* It is true that two of your publique ministers have bin killed ; but they had too little care of themselves : and 'tis possible, the like affacination may be attempted on me, butt I shall be better provided for my defence, and be the more watchfull by their warning ; and the same God that is with us heer, and hath kept me in many daungers, will, I hope, be with me every where, and give me his protection.

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*Wife.* I have four times crost the sea, and 'tis a dreadful thing.

*Wh.* To women it is, more than to men.

*Wife.* I went only between England and Holland : butt your voyage will be long and daungorous, and in winter ; and I have heard that those seas are very rough, and the weather like to be bad.

*Wh.* I have bin often att sea, and with a good wind ; this voyage may be in five or six days : I can brooke the seas as well as most men, and have bin used to stormes, both att sea and land.

*Wife.* You have the more reason now to desire rest.

*Wh.* There is no rest butt in the grave.

*Wife.* There will be more att home than in this journey ; you will not be able to indure the cold and extremities of it.

*Wh.* I have indured many hardships ; and if God shall call me to this, he will inable me to beare it.

1653. *Wife.* But why should you adventure yourfelfe for those  
 { that doe not wish you well? butt rather, that you may never  
 Sept. 6. returne, as I thinke the generall and his party doe.

*Wh.* I see you are no great friend of theirs..

*Wife.* Nor are they your friends.

*Wh.* I believe the generall is not so fond of me as of Sir Gilbert Pickering.

*Wife.* Nor would he shed many tears if you miscarry in the journey.

*Wh.* Not so many as you have shed for feare I should goe; yett he can shed tears sometimes..

*Wife.* O lett my teares and desires prevayle with you not to putt yourfelfe and me uppon those perills, to serve them that love you not.

*Wh.* The greater the perills are, the greater will be the goodnes of God in my protection, and the greater will be the merit of the service; the work of God and one's country knoweth no daungers, at least feareth none: and though the seas, and season, and climate are very great discouragements; yett a willing mind to doe service to God, and one's country, and profession, and family, and friends, will helpe to surpasse them all.

*Wife.* I see then you are inclined to undertake it: if I saw any likelyhood of your doing service to God and his people in this journey, I should be the lesse troubled; butt I see nothing of that in it.

*Wh.*

*Wh.* Unlesse that be made appear in it, I shall not incline to it; and what I say, is only for argument and discourse sake, and to debate it with thee, who art so much concerned in it. 1653.  
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*Wife.* I thinke it necessary to consider and weigh all objections, and whether the acceptance or refusall of it be best; wherein, next yourselfe, none is so much concerned as I am, and I cannot bring my heart to incline to it.

*Wh.* If the generall or any of my ennemies have designed this for my prejudice, possibly I shall gratify their ill will, and incurre what they designe; by my refusall; butt if I should undertake it, and God should blesse me in it, that would weaken and disappoint the envy of my adversaries: a refusall at this time, added to their former distasts of me, would increase the interest of my enemies, and diminish my own; but by accepting it, I shall oblige those in power, and greatly advantage myselfe and relations.

*Wife.* Our greatest advantage will be to injoy you, whose life is our chiefeft worldly comfort, and your death (which more probably is to be expected in this journey) will be an irreparable losse to me, and our twelve children, and a thirteenth comming; most of them unable to help themselves; and your friends and relations will have no finall losse in you.

*Wh.* Whatever becomes of me, I have confidence in your love to my children, and care of them for my sake: I know religion and affection will guide you to it, and to deny yourselfe for the good of yours, and for the highest interest; and if I should goe, I hope our seperation (through the goodnes of God) would be butt temporary, and not long, and our meeting againe, with the more joy and comfort.

*Wife.*

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*Wife.* Butt you see my present condition.

*Wh.* I see it, and rejoyce in the addition of God's mercyes to us; and hope, if I doe goe, yett I shall see you first safely delivered.

*Wife.* No, you must goe presently.

Heer againe abundance of teares interrupted their discourse, and was no weake argument against the journey.

7. Some of Whitelocke's friends, whose advise he asked in this buisnes, were more reserved then usuall; and not so free to give their positive advice in it, for feare of inconveniency which might either way insue. Others of his friends declared their judgements and reasons freely to him, for his undertaking of it, as others did against it.

Some whose affections were not with the parlement, yett advised him to undertake this imployment, to preserve his interest in the present powers, and to be the better able to doe them and himselfe good. Others, who were for the parlement, yett were against his going, that they might have him heer, and for his avoyding the daungers of the voyage. Those against his going objected, the daungers of the rough northerne seas, of the ennemies Dutch and Danes, of the defeat to our navy, which would frustrate the Swedish buisnes, and leave him and his company miserable abroad, as every disafter to our new common-wealth would doe; also the extreame coldnes of that countrey in the winter, the great change of climate and dyett, want of accomodations and hardships, to one not used to them in his youth, and now in his crazy old age to be putt to more than ordinary extreamities.

To

To these it was answered, that the voyage by sea is not 1653.  
 so dangerous as was apprehended; and though they be rough seas, yett he would be in good ships, and might <sup>Sept. 7.</sup>  
 take his owne time, and feldome would be farre from some port to friend him. That the Dutch would be most in harbour in the winter; and if any of their men of war should be abroad, they would not rashly sett uppon our frigotts, such as would be sent with Whitelocke, and which they knew would fight; nor was it usuall to assault an Ambassador: and as for the Danish ships, they were not considerable.

- Every day Whitelocke advised with his friends about this great buisnes, heard and weighed their objections and answers, some whereof were these: 8.

The daunger of the land journey, and of affacination; his want of experience in state affayres, and in trade; a subtile people to deale with, whose interest was their profit, and agreements not kept on other grounds; the inconveniencies which might befall him in his absence, and his not being then minded and supplied.

To which was answered, that the countrey was indeed extreame cold, butt against that he must provide warme clothing; that he would there find warme houses, and abundance of fuell; that though the journey was very long, yett the wayes were exceeding good, and order would be given for the repayre of them, and for all accomodations for his journey: that strict care would be taken to prevent force uppon him or affacination, and the people there were in perfect obedience, and none would dare to commit such a fact, either of the natives or strangers; and he would have

1653. have a better guard then those had who were murdered in  
 Sept. 8. Spain, and Holland.

That there was not much trade betwixt us and Sweden ; nor was much of skill in those matters expected in an extraordinary ambassador, who agreed such things in the generall ; and afterwards particular points were brought to a determination by merchants or others appointed to be commissioners for that purpose.

That Whitelocke was not unexperienced in forreign affayres, and matters of state, wherein he had bin constantly imployed heer by the parlement and councells ; that the Swedes were very just in performing their agreements, and regarded their advantage not more then all other princes and states doe ; and as they were a wise and subtle people, so they would find those no children with whom they were to deale ; and that the Swedes were butt men.

That no inconvenience could befall him by reason of his absence, butt the same, if not more, would lye upon him if present ; except the fayler of supplies, for which a full provision might be made beforehand : and that his journey would be an honorable dismissal from any such inconveniences, if they should happen, and from the clamours which usually follow those imployments in which he had bin engaged.

9. It was requisite for Whitelocke to goe into the countrey about his affayres there ; some discourse a little retarded him.

It was objected, that the authority under whose commission he was to act in this great buisnes, was not justifiable  
 by

by the law of God, or of this nation ; and he the more  
lyable to punishment, if a change should come.

1653.  
Sept. 9.

To this was answered, by some ministers and other friends : that to matter of conscience, the buisnes about which he went was for the good of the nation, and of the protestant interest and religion ; and heer being no other present visible power butt those who sent him, he might with good conscience submit to them, according to that of the Apostle, 1 Pet. ii. 13. " Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man ;" and Rom. xiii. 1. " Lett every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power butt of God, the powers that be are ordained of God ;" that Christ yielded obedience to Cæsar, though an usurper, and Paul did the like.

As to the matter of law, it was said by those of his own profession (of whom none dissuaded him from this journey) and by other friends, that matters judicall, civill, or criminall, raising of money, or forces, fighting, killing, &c. are of a nature much different from an ambassy, and have more consideration as to legality or illegality of the powers ordering them ; butt the carrying of a message, and being an ambassador, may be undertaken on the behalfe of any that will send it, and can defray the charge of it, so as the matter of it be not bad ; and though the authority itself be not so gratefull to the people, yett they submit to it, and universally obey it, and none can have protection butt under it.

That the buisnes was in itselfe good and gratefull to the people, being to make a league of amity with a neighbour nation, to increase our trade, to strengthen ourselves against a forein ennemy, the Dutch, or to produce



1653. a peace with them ; which things would be gratefull and  
 ~~~~~ advantageous to all sorts of people, and opinions in the  
 Sept. 9. nation, both now and in any future change.

As to matter of prudence, he was said to be so farre
 ingaged already with the parlement party, that he could
 not go back ; that if any change should be made with
 force, it would be safer to be from among them than in
 the midst of them ; if it were made uppon termes, he
 (though absent) should be comprised in them.

Some of those who dissuaded him, yett when he would
 goe, they freely adventured their lives with him. He got
 this day to his house in Bucks.

10. Early in the morning he went abroad to take the fresh
 aier, and looke into his grounds : with him was his tenant
 William Cooke, an antient, sober, discreet, and faithfull
 servant to Whitelocke and his father above forty years ;
 part of the discourse between them was to this effect.

Co. Sir I am glad to see you heer before you goe your
 great journey.

Wh. I desired to see you once againe before I be sent
 beyond sea.

Co. If you be sent over sea, I pray God bleffe you, and
 send you well home againe.

Wh. There will be some daunger of comming well home
 againe.

Co.

Co. Why, sir, many honest gentlemen before now have bin sent over seas, and yett have returned well home againe; and so I hope will you. 1653.
Sept. 10.

Wh. But this is a journey of more daunger then ordinary.

Co. Sir, you have bin in great daungers ere now, and God has kept you; and so I hope he will still..

Wh. I perceive you are not so much against my going as others are.

Co. I see no cause to be much against it, that's the trueth on't; bicause I hope it may be for the good of you and yours, which I wish with all my heart, and ever did.

Wh. Butt doe not you thinke it would be more for our good for me to stay at home?

Co. That you know best; butt this I thinke, that if by going abroade you may gaine a good advantage to your state, and by staying att home you will only spend of it, then it will be more for your good to goe abroade, than to stay att home. Butt these things are above me.

Wh. You speake reason, William.

Co. I have no ends in what I speake butt my love to you and yours; and I am sure I shall gaine nothing by your going, nor lose nothing by your stay.

Wh. Butt my wife much feares the daunger.

1653. *Co.* Our lady and mistress will be satisfied in what you
 think best, and knowes that God is the same God every
 Sept. 10. where : I pray God keep you out of daungers if you goe,
 or if you stay ; there will be daungers every where.

Wh. Butt more apparent in this journey.

Co. I cannot tell that ; for I have heard that our great man, I meane my lord generall, would have you to goe : and if it be so, and yett you will stay att home, I doubt there may be as much daunger for you to stay as to goe.

Wh. Its true the generall would have me goe ; butt I am not bound to obey him in all things.

Co. I am deceived if he will not be obeyed in what he hath a mind to.

Wh. I am not under his command ; what can he doe to me ?

Co. What can he doe ! what can he not doe ? Don't we all see he does what he list. We poor countrymen are forced to obey him to our cost ; and if he have a mind to punish us or you, its an old proverbe, that it is an easy thing to find a staffe to beate a dogge : and I would not have you to anger him, lest you bring daunger and trouble too uppon you and your family and state ; that's the trueth on't.

Wh. I fully agree with you in this ; and I hope you will agree to me to be carefull of my buisnes in case I shall goe, and to obey my wife's commands in my absence.

Co.

Co. I shall, by the help of God, be faithfull to you ; and
carefully observe the commands of my lady and mistris.

1653.

Sept. 10.

The Lord's day. After publique dueties Whitelocke had
much discourse about his voyage to Sweden ; and more
particularly upon the point, whether, by his undertaking
of it, he might be instrumentall to promote the protestant
interest, and to doe service to good people both heer and
abroade ; against which these objections were made.

II.

That the people of those parts whither he was to goe
differ wholly from our perswasion in matters of religion ;
and though they are protestants after the doctrine of Luther,
yett they are not easily to be reconciled to those of other
tenents, nor to be brought to joyne with them ; and they
have a sharpe averfenes to the opinions of Calvin, and looke
upon us as most favouring them, and more than those of
their great author Luther.

On the other part it was said, that though the swedish
and german professors are generally lutherans ; yett they
are protestants, and agree with us in fundamentalls, and
against the roman church.

That the queen of Sweden, butt chiefly her father, and
many of his great men, yett living, have testified much
affection to the protestant cause, and are forward to pro-
mote it ; that such a person as Whitelocke being with them
upon the place, and discoursing with them about these
matters, (wherin he is able to give them so much satisfac-
tion, and such as they have not had any opportunity so
fully to receive before) and the example of Whitelocke and
his company to worke upon them to a greater liking of
our wayes and profession, accompanied with such practice,
would

1653. would gaine a better acceptation with them, than any they
 ~~~~~ have formerly given to those from whom att present they  
 Sept. 11. doe differ ; and will much perswade towards a firm amity  
 and union with this common-wealth.

That there is no other nation in Christendome from whom the Swedes can rationally expect such a friendship and union butt only England ; especially in matter of religion, and for strength against the popish party, who love not them nor us.

The protestant princes of Germany are not att this day so considerable, nor so free of differences and jealousies among themselves and against the crown of Sweden, nor so secure of neerer ennemies as to be much assistant to the Swedes, who will hardly be reconciled and united to the Danes, to joyne with them against the papists: the french protestants are overpowred att home, the Switzers are too farre of, the Netherlanders too much in league with the Dane, and in love with trade ; so that the English only are the people with whom the Swedes may hope for a firm amity and union for the protestant interest, against the common ennemy therof, the popish party ; and, upon this ground, that Whitelocke might receive encouragement to undertake this ambassy, and being so hopefull to promote the protestant interest, that God will give a blessing to it.

12. The pleasant healthfull countrey aier must be left, and Whitelocke must hasten to attend the general ; and for that end he returnes to London, where discourse againe ariseth touching his swedish journey, between him and his wife and friends, and the same reasons, objections, and answers as formerly were reiterated. Att length she came to this conclusion.

conclusion and resolt with herselfe, which she declared to her husband, as her advice and judgement; that she was not able to give her consent to his undertaking of the journey, because of that heavy affliction which would lye upon her by it; neither durst she absolutely to deny it, least any inconvenience might befall him or his family by his refusall of it, or any hindrance to their good: butt that she thought he must be guided in his resolutions as he should find the generall's, in his next conference with him. And so she left it to her husband (wherin their friends concurred) and she, with many teares, desired him to consider his own safety in the first place, and to doe what would tend most therunto, and to the honor of God, and the interest of his family and countrey.

1653.

Sept. 12.

Her advice was without any by-ends; her concernement and good the same with his, the same interest to both; her advice (though a woman) not to be rejected, butt sound, faithfull, and affectionate.

Early in the morning Whitelocke had access to the generall, and this discourse with him.

13.

*Wh.* I was to attend your excellence, butt mist of you.

*Crom.* I knew not of it; you are alwayes wellcome to me. I hope you have considered the proposall I made to you, and are willing to serve the common-wealth.

*Wh.* I have fully considered it; and with humble thanks acknowledge the honor intended me, and am most willing to serve your excellence and the common-wealth; butt in this particular I humbly begge your excuse. I have indeavoured to satisfy my owne judgement, and my neere relations,

1653. lations, butt can doe neither ; nor gaine a consent, and I  
 ~~~~~ should be very unworthy and ungratefull to goe against it.  
 Sept. 13.

Crom. You know that no relations use to sway the balance in such matters as this. I know your lady very well, and that she is a good woman, and a religious woman ; indeed I think she is : and I durst undertake, in a matter of this nature, wherein the interest of God and of his people is concerned, as they are in your undertaking of this buisness, I dare say my lady will not oppose it.

Wh. Truly, sir, I thinke there is no woman alive desires more the promoting of that interest ; butt she hopes it may be done as much, if not more, by some other person.

Crom. Really I know not in England so fitt a person as you are for it.

Wh. Your excellence cannot butt know my want of breeding and experience in matters of this nature, and of language.

Crom. I know your education, travayle, and language, and experience have fitted you for it ; you know the affayres of Christendome as well as most men, and of England, as well as any man, and can give as good an account of them. I think no man can serve his countrey more then you may herein ; indeed I think so, and therefore I make it my particular suit, and earnest request to you to undertake it : and I hope you will show a little regard to me in it ; and I assure you that you shall have no cause to repent it.

Wh.

Wh. My lord, I am very ready to testify my duty to 1653.
 your excellency. I acknowledge your many favours to me, ^{Sept. 13.}
 and myselfe an officer under your command, and to owe
 you obedience. Butt your excellency will not expect it
 from me in that wherein I am not capable to serve you :
 and, therefore, I make it my most humble suit to be excused
 from this service.

Crom. For your abilities I am satisfied ; I know no man
 so fitt for it as yourselfe ; and if you should decline it (as I
 hope you will not) the common-wealth would suffer ex-
 tremely by it, your own profession perhaps might suffer
 likewise, and the protestant interest would suffer by it :
 indeed you cannot be excused, the hearts of all the good
 people in this nation are sett upon it, to have you under-
 take this service, and if you should waive it, being thus,
 and att such a time when your going may be the most
 likely means to settle our buisnes with the Dutch and Danes,
 and matter of trade, (and none, I say again, can doe it
 better then you) ; the common-wealth would be att an ex-
 treame prejudice by your refusall. Butt I hope you will
 hearken to my request, and lett me prevayle with you to
 undertake it : neither you nor yours, I hope, shall ever
 have any cause to wish you had not done it.

Wh. My lord, when a man is out of fight he is out of
 mind. Though your excellency be just and honorable ; yett
 your greater affayres calling you off, those to whom mat-
 ters of correspondence and supplies must be referred, will
 perhaps forget one who is as farre off, and not be so sensible
 of extremitities in a forein countrey as those who suffer un-
 der them.

1653. *Crom.* I will ingage to take particular care of those mat-
 ters myfelfe, and that you fhall neither want fupplies nor
 Sept. 13. any thing that is fitt for you : you fhall be fett out with
 as much honor as ever any ambaffador was from England.
 I fhall hold myfelfe particularly obliged to you if you will
 undertake it ; and will ftick as close to you as your fkin is
 to your flefh. You fhall want nothing either for your
 honor and equipage, or for power and trust to be repofed
 in you, or for correfpondence and fupplies when you are
 abroad ; I promife you, my lord, you fhall not. I will
 make it my buifnes to fee it done. The parlement and
 counsell, as well as myfelfe, will take it very well, and
 thankfully from you to accept of this employment ; and all
 people, efpecially the good people of the nation, will be
 much fatisfyed with it : and, therefore, my lord, I make it
 againe my earneft request to you to accept this honorable
 employment.

This extraordinary earneftnes of Cromwell, fo that he
 would not be fatisfyed unles Whitelocke did accept the im-
 ployment, nor by any means be prevayled with to excufe
 him ; and Whitelocke feeing plainly that he could not
 decline it, without making Cromwell, the parlement, and
 counsell highly diftafted againft him, and to be his covert,
 if not open ennemies, for neglecting and flighting them,
 who had opportunity, and power, and will, to be even
 with him.

He came to this refolution, (which, uppon prayer to God
 and advice of his friends, he had formerly taken) that if he
 fhould find it with Cromwell as he did, then to confent
 rather to goe the journey in great daunger, then to ftay
 att home in greater ; and to hope to doe fome fervice for
 the

the protestant people and interest. Therefore, after some
pawse, Whitelocke spake againe to Cromwell thus:

1653.
Sept. 13.

Wh. I see your excellence is inexorable for my excuse ; and much sett uppon it, with more then ordinary earnestness, for me to undertake this service, for which, (though I judge myselfe insufficient) yett your judgement and the councell's is, that I am capable to doe some service to the common-wealth, and to the protestant interest herin, and to the honor of God, which is above all other motives: and hoping that it may be so ; and to testify my regard and duety to your excellence, who have honored me with your personall request for it, and the councell having unanimously pitched uppon me ; and to manifest that I am not selfe-willed, and how much I value your excellence's commands, and can submitt my own to better judgements, I am resolved to lay aside further consideration of wife, children, friends, fortune, and all objections and feare of daungers, and to conforme myselfe to your excellence's desires, and to the votes of the councell, by accepting this difficult and hazardous imployment ; and doe rest confident of your excellence's care and favour towards me, who undertake it by your command : and hope that such allowances and supplyes will be afforded me, and such memory had of me in my absence, as shall be agreeable to the honor of the nation, and of yourselfe, and the buisnes, as also of your servant.

Crom. My lord, I doe most heartily thanke you for accepting the imployment, wherby you have testified a very great respect and favour to me, and affection to the common-wealth, which will be very well taken by them ; and I assure you, that it is so gratefull to me, who, uppon my particular request have prevayled with you, that I shall

1653. never forgett this favour, butt endeavor to requite it to
 you and yours ; really, my lord, I shall : and I will acquaint
 Sept. 13. the councill with it, that we may desire further conference
 with you.

He went away well pleased ; and Whitelocke's friends
 thought what he had done to be rationall ; butt tender
 affection was full of passion and weeping.

14. The consent of Whitelocke to accept this imployment
 was reported from the councill to the parlement, with the
 councill's opinion, that Whitelocke was a fitt person to be
 sent ambassador extraordinary to the queen of Sweden ;
 which they submitted to the parlement's consideration.

In the debate therof in the house, one of the members,
 (who had an opinion of himselfe to be more godly then
 others) did object, that they knew not whether Whitelocke
 were a godly man or not ; and though he might be other-
 wayes qualifed, yett, if he were not a godly man, it was
 not fitt to send him ambassador.

Mr. Taylor, another member, who was known not to
 be inferior in godlines to the objector, answered (with
 other friends) in Whitelocke's behalfe : that godliness was
 now in fashion, and taken up in forme and words for ad-
 vantage-sake, more then in substance for the trueths sake ;
 that it was difficulte to judge of the trees of godliness, or
 ungodliness, otherwise then by the fruit ; and that those
 who knew Whitelocke, and his conversation, were satisfyed
 that he lived in practice, as well as in a profession of godli-
 ness ; and that it was more becomming a godly man to
 looke into his own heart, and to censure himselfe, than to
 take uppon him the attribute of God alone, to know the
 heart

heart of another, and to judge him, especially if a stranger, of whom godly men were wont to judge charitably. 1653.
Sept. 14.

After some little debate, it was voted, nemine contradicente, "that the house doth agree with the report, that the lord commissioner Whitelocke be sent ambassador extraordinary to the queen of Sweden, from this common-wealth; and that the councell take care for the retinue of all ambassadors to be approved by them; and that they prepare all things in order to the dispatch of the said lord ambassador, and a commission and instructions for him to be reported to the house."

In the afternoon the councell made a committee, to consider of preparations for the ambassy, and what money and shipping is requisite for it; and to conferre with Whitelocke about these things; and it was referred to the committee for forrein affayres to prepare a commission and instructions for him.

The committee of the councell for the ambassy were not full. Whitelocke inquiring about the vote of the house, touching the retinue of ambassadors, (which he had noe cause to like) was informed, that the occasion therof was from disorders in the young gentleman, and his company, who lately carryed letters from the parlement to the queen of Sweden; and that there was much excessse in drinking of healths in his company, which occasioned this vote of the parlement about the retinue of all ambassadors; and that it was generall, and no reflection therby, or in the debate uppon Whitelocke in particular.. 15.

The

1653. The committee of the councell mett in the afternoon, and tooke an account of the lord viscount L'Isle, that he had received 3000 l. towards his charges for the ambassy, whereof he had layd out 2000 l. in preparations, and there remained 1000 l. in his hands. The committee did nothing further, though the buisnes and season of the yeare required somewhat more expédition.

Sept. 16.

17. The committee for the Swedish buisnes mett agayne, and ordered letters to be sent to Whitelocke, to meet them.

Whitelocke's usage was to be loving and kind to his servants, not awfully magisteriall and harsh to them; to treat them with a fitting familiarity, rather than too great a distance, and to take care that they should want nothing fitt for them. This caused his servants to returne love agayne to their master; and the service of love is the best service: to testify this love, most of his meniall servants offered willingly; and some of them made suite to waite on him in this journey, though so long and daungerous.

18. *The Lord's day.* Whitelocke, after publique dueties, was troubled with importunities of divers persons; some for gentlemen to be admitted into his company, others to be his servants in this journey: butt he was not forward to receive any into his number, unlesse he knew them personally himselfe, or was well informed of the qualities, civility, and religious inclination of them; least he might bring a prejudice by ill example uppon his children, or his other servants, and a scandall uppon the profession of religion.

A messenger of the councell brought to Whitelocke this letter from the committee.

To

*To the Right Honorable the Lord Commissioner WHITELOCKE, 1653.
att his House att Chelsey.*

Sept. 19.

“ MY LORD,

“ The councell having commanded myfelfe, with Sir
“ Gilbert Pickering and Mr. Strickland, to waite upon your
“ lordship, to conferre with your lordship about some things
“ concerning your lordship’s ambassy ; we desire to know,
“ whither your lordship will be att leifure to-morrow at
“ eight a’clocke, which, if your lordship approve of, we shall
“ be att the time aforefaid att your lordship’s house : or if
“ that be not convenient, that your lordship will lett us
“ know what other time will most fuit with your lordship’s oc-
“ cafions, that we may waite on you. I am,

“ My lord,

“ your lordship’s humble fervant,

WHITEHALL,
Sept. 19.

“ HEN. LAWRENCE.”

To this letter Whitelocke returned this answer.

*To the Honorable HENRY LAWRENCE, Esqr. a Member of
Parlement, and of the Councell of State. These.*

“ S I R,

“ I acknowledge, with humble thanks, the favour from
“ yourfelfe and the rest of the honorable gentlemen of the
“ committee, by your letters this day brought unto me.
“ Sir, I shall be at leifure to attend when you commaund ;
“ and knowing your great occasions, and my own duety,
“ I de-

1653. " I desire you would be pleased to give me leave to waite
 { " uppon you to-morrow morning att your time, at White-
 Sept. 19. " hall ; when I shall attend the pleasure of the committee,
 " and hope to find you neer to the councill chamber.

" Your most humble servant,

CHELSEY,
 Sept. 19, 1653.

" B. WHITELOCKE."

This letter rayfed new passions ; and it was urged against Whitelocke, that he ought not to leave his country and relations to goe this journey ; butt the matter was determined, and himselfe ingaged and freely called to this service.

20. Att eight a'clock this morning, Whitelocke was att the committee ; but it was too early for the members : only the lord viscount L'Isle came before the rest ; and with him Whitelocke had free discourse, touching the grounds of his declining that service, to which he protested solemnly and earnestly, that he had no other reason butt his want of health to undergoe a winter journey into that countrey, the cold whereof he was not by his constitution able to indure ; and this was the cause of his desire to be excused from that imployment att this time ; that he did not scruple the authority, nor thought the buisnes difficulte, but very honourable, and likely to have good successe ; and he expressed the same things touching this matter, which his brother collonel Sidney had said before to Whitelocke.

The committee being full, Whitelocke fate with them covered ; and they discoursed together about an hower, touching his ambassy, particularly of the allowance for his charges, which they said should be 1000 l. a month, besides
 coaches

coaches and liveries already provided ; and this the same 1653.
allowance that the lord L'Isle should have had.

Sept. 21.

Whitelocke showed the difference of charge in travyle and residence in winter, more than if he had gone in summer ; with his reasons why this allowance would be too smalle, and these matters he had fully inquired into and considered (as behoved him) uppon this occasion ; butt the gentlemen of the committee, not so much concerned heerin as Whitelocke, had not much looked into this, or any other buisnes of this nature, nor did say much to it ; but how they might save some of their money, although never so necessary to be expended : they concluded, with a desire, that Whitelocke would putt down his demands in writing, with which they would acquaint the councill, and returne their answer.

The letter of Whitelocke to the councill containing his propofalls, was delivered to the president, and was as followeth :

To the Right Honorable the Lord President of the Councell of State. These.

“ MY LORD,

“ Upon consideration and advice concerning the journey
“ into Sweden, respect being had unto the manner of the
“ late ambassy into the Low Countryes, and of the present ex-
“ pectation of the queen of Sweden, and her court, of the
“ acceffe of cavaliers thither, and chiefly of the honor of
“ this state : I do humbly apprehend, that it will be requi-
“ site, for the honor of the parlement, and security of their
“ fervant, that I carry with me neer 100 persons in my
“ company and retinue.

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“ The

1653.

Sept. 21.

“ The expences of the journey will be much increased by
 “ the season of the year, which will cause us to travayle by
 “ land, almost 400 miles more than if we had gone in sum-
 “ mer, and consequently to provide and carry with us
 “ more people and horses.

“ The expences of the land journey will be very great,
 “ and all provisions, both for men and horses, in the way
 “ and att Stockholme, att a farre dearer rate in the winter
 “ time, when they have no marketts, than they would have
 “ bin in the summer, when they might have bin had, att
 “ the best rates; besides the charge of the fuell, which will
 “ not be smalle in that country.

“ I may have (if you please) the coaches and liveryes pro-
 “ vided; besides which, I must provide clothes for myselfe,
 “ advance monies and salaries for many that are to goe with
 “ me, and many necessary provisions for my table, coach-
 “ horses, saddle-horses, with divers other particulars, which
 “ I trouble not your lordship to recite.

“ Uppon consideration of all these things, I doe humbly
 “ apprehend, that it may appear reasonable, to allow me
 “ 1500 l. per menssem, for all my preparations and expen-
 “ ces: if this should be thought too high an allowance, I
 “ then humbly propound 1000 l. advance for my prepara-
 “ tions, beside coach and liveryes, and 1200 l. per menssem
 “ for all my charges; being resolved, according to the plea-
 “ sure of the councell, to conforme myselfe and my ex-
 “ pences; and shall be ready to give a full account thereof
 “ att my returne, if the councell shall thinke fitt to order it.

“ I do

“ I do humbly propound further, to have from the state, 1653.
 “ table linnen, hangings, household stufte, and bedding, in ^{Sept. 21.}
 “ such preportion as they shall thinke fitt, and as hath bin
 “ allowed to others their ambaffadors and servants, to be
 “ received and returned by inventory.

“ I humbly desire the councell's letter to Mr. Ingelo, to
 “ accompany me as chapleyn : and if they shall thinke fitt
 “ to write to Mr. Duery to the same purpose, I shall sub-
 “ mit to it.

“ I humbly desire the councell's order to the judges of
 “ the admiralty, to give dispatches to a Swedish ship, now
 “ questioned in that court ; in which ship, if she be re-
 “ leased, I propose to send my baggage, to goe with me
 “ to Gothenburgh ; and from thence (if it may be) by sea
 “ to Stockholme.

“ I humbly desire such order for my transportation, and
 “ convoy by sea, as the councell shall think fitt ; and, for
 “ all accommodations in my sea voyage to Gothenburgh.

“ My lord, I beg your pardon of this tediousness, from

“ Your lordships humble servant,

CHELSEY,
 Sept. 20, 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The president, upon receipt of this letter, told the mes-
 senger he would communicate it to the councells committee,
 from whom, in a short time, Whitelocke should receive an
 answer.

1653. A principall care of Whitelocke, as to those of his retinue,
 Sept. 21. was to gett able and fitt chapleins, such as were of a pious
 life and converfation, and of good abilities and learning,
 for example and instruction of his company : and he de-
 fired to have them of a respectfull, civill, and courteous be-
 haviour to win uppon his people, and to credit him among
 strangers ; and that they might be qualified with languages,
 especially latin, as most usefull abroad, and most expected
 from their profession.

Being informed of Mr. Ingelo to be a fitt perfon for one of
 his chapleins, and that had he ingaged to attend the lord
 viscount L'Ifle, if he had gone ; Whitelocke wrote to him
 to this purpose :

*For my worthy Friend, Mr. NATHANIEL INGEL, Fellow of
 Eaton Colledge. These.*

“ S I R,

“ Being commaunded by the parlement to goe ambaf-
 “ fador into Sweden, I doe make it my earnest fuit to you,
 “ that you would be pleased to accompany me in that jour-
 “ ney, according to your former refolutions to goe with
 “ my lord viscount L'Ifle in the fame service ; the buifnes
 “ itfelfe is honorable, and of that confequence to this na-
 “ tion's good, that I hope there will be no need of any
 “ other motive to perfwade you to adhere to your former
 “ intentions therein ; to which I fhall only adde this, that
 “ no perfon in my company is more defired, nor fhall be
 “ ufed with greater care and refpect, than yourfelfe, by

“ Your affectionate

“ friend to ferve you,

CHILSBY,
 21 Sept. 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

This

This letter Whitelocke tooke order to be sent by a fitt ^{1653.} messenger to Mr. Ingelo, and to have some friends of best ^{Sept. 21.} esteem with him, to discourse with him about, and to be furnished with reasons to perswade him to goe this journey with Whitelocke, who desired his company.

According to the appointment of the committee, White- 22.
locke was at Whitehall, where Mr. Lawrence told him, that the report of his propofalls was not yett made to the councell; divers of them being absent at the committee for tithes, which was then in hott pursuite, some for the taking of them away, and others for the continuence of them: the president appointed the next morning to meet at the committee, but afterwards sent a civill letter to Whitelocke to excuse it; some of the councell still attending the buisnes of tithes.

By advice of Sir Oliver Fleming, master of the cere- 23.
monies, that it was according to the custome of the ambassadors; Whitelocke sent two of his servants, who spake High Dutch, to Mr. Lagerfeldt, an agent, now residing heer from the queen of Sweden, and to Mr. Bonele, then commissioner heer for trade, with this message: "that the parliament having appointed him to goe ambassador to her most serene majesty the queen of Sweden, he thought fitt, in respect to her majesty, and to them her publique ministers now residing in England, to give them notice hereof."

Both the gentlemen desired their thanks might be returned to the ambassador, for his civility and respect to the queen their mistris, and to themselves; whereof they would give a speedy account to her majesty. Whitelocke sent his complement on this day, being the post day, to give them opportunity of writing it into Sweden; which they did this day.

1653. Uppon a report from their committee, the councill
 made two orders, both to the same effect; whether through
 Sept. 24. incuriousnes of the councill, or their clerks, Whitelocke
 did not inquire; both were sent to him, the later order
 was this:


Saturday, 24th September, 1653.

Att the councill of state att Whitehall. Ordered, " That
 " the lord commissioner Whitelocke shall have the same
 " allowance for his ambassy into Sweden as the lord vis-
 " count L'Isle was to have had; that is to say, 6000 l. for
 " the first six months, wherof 3000 l. is to be paid in pre-
 " sent money, to such persons as his lordship shall ap-
 " point to receive the same; and 3000 l. more, by bills of
 " exchange; the provisions of coach, harness, and live-
 " ryes being cast in over and above the forementioned
 " allowance of 6000 l. and valued att 1000 l. in conside-
 " ration of his lordship's undertaking the journey in the
 " winter season. And the councill doth further declare,
 " that if there shall be occasion for his lordship's stay in
 " Sweden longer then six months, that there shall be duly
 " allowed and paid to his lordship, the some of 600 l. per
 " mens. which is the same allowance that was to have
 " bin made to the lord viscount L'Isle, if he had stayed in
 " Sweden longer than six months.

" That such plate, table-linnen, hangings, household-
 " stufte, and bedding, as are in the state's wardrobe,
 " and which are fitt for the lord commissioner Whitelocke's
 " use in his ambassy into Sweden, be furnished unto his
 " lordship, by the wardrobe keeper, in such proportion
 " as was to have bin furnished to the lord L'Isle; and that
 " such plate, table-linnen, and other goods, be delivered
 " to

“ to such persons as shall be appointed by his lordship to
 “ receive the same. ”

1653.


 Sept. 24.

“ That the judges of the admiralty be sent unto, to cer-
 “ tify to the councell, what proceedings have bin in the
 “ buisnes of the ship, which pretends to belong to Sweden,
 “ and to certify to the councell the whole state therof.

“ That a letter be written to Mr. Ingêlo to goe along
 “ with the lord ambassador, as chaplain, in his ambassy
 “ into Sweden.

“ That Mr. John Duery be approved of by the coun-
 “ cell, to goe as one of the chapleins to the lord commif-
 “ sioner Whitelocke in his ambassy into Sweden, if his
 “ lordship shall likewise approve of him.

“ Ex^r. Jo. THURLOE, sec^r. ”

Both Whitelocke and his friend had too much cause to dislike the narrowness and illiberality of the allowance voted by the councell for him, which was judged too low and meane to defray his necessary and great expences ; butt the seeming thrift for the commonwealth did now overweigh with some of the councell, the honor of the nation, and safety of their servant.

This straightnes of the councell rayfed many serious thoughts in Whitelocke, how he might extricate himselfe from the present difficulties under which he lay ; how he might quit the service imposed on him, and not fall into greater daungers and perplexities, then the imployment would bring upon him. He considered the improbability of advantaging his own fortunes, by serving under such narrowe-

1653. narrowe-hearted masters, and the desperate perill of fayling of sufficient supplies in a foreign countrey.
 ~~~~~  
 Sept. 24.

On the other side, he saw the bitterness of the spirit of many of those in power, who, if they were disappointed of their purposes, and should apprehend a neglect of them, and their authority, would not sticke furiously and haughtily to straine it, to the ruine of him whom they judged a contemner of it.

He, therefore, as farre as he thought in discretion he could, made some overtures and tryalls how to gett discharged of the imployment; butt the hearts of the present governors were so sett upon it to have him goe, that they would not heare of any thing from himselfe, or his friends, tending to the excuse of him from going.

Finding it thus, he contented himselfe in his assurance of God's love and protection, and in hopes to have an opportunity to serve him, and his countrey, and the interest of his people.

25. *The Lord's day.* Whitelocke was with his wife and family att the parish church, and had more than ordinary ceremony from his brother in office, whose meaning therein he understood.

After publique exercises of devotion, he retired himselfe, from the continuall discourses of his Swedish buisnes, unto his private meditations uppon the holy scriptures.

26. In a letter to Whitelocke from the councell was inclosed the same order which they sent to him the other day; such was the forgettfullness of their affayres.

Mr.

Mr. Bonele, an English marchant, who went to the queen of Sweden, had so farre gained her favour, that she honored him with the imployment of her publique minister, her commissioner for trade to England. 1653.  
Sept. 26.

He came to Whitelocke this day, attended with two gentlemen, and two lacquayes in liveryes, and demeaned himselfe in the part of a publique minister. He discoursed of Whitelocke's journey, and that his best way would be by Gothenburg; and he magnified the civility and courtesy of the queen, his mistris, to all gentlemen and strangers that came into her countrey, especially to publique ministers; and (as it was due) of her great respects to those who were extraordinary ambassadors; which character, he said, he heard was deservedly intended for Whitelocke.

He was full of the buisnes of trade between the two nations, and of commerce in generall, and the honor of marchants.

Whitelocke went to the councell and had some discourse with them touching the smallenes of the allowance ordered for him, and that it might be increased; he gave his reasons freely to them, butt they gravely acquainted him, that the judgement of the councell held that allowance to be competent; and they having resolved it, that it was not in the committee's power to alter it; butt they promised to report to the councell his desires, and the reasons he had offered to them. 27.

Whitelocke also acquainted the committee, that Mr. Duery, whom the councell had recommended to be one of his chapleins, had, by letters, excused himselfe for want



1653. of health; butt Mr. Ingelo had consented to goe with him :  
 ~~~~~ they seemed pleased therewith, butt Whitelocke was not so,  
 Sept. 27. att their backwardnes to increase his allowance ; and so they
 parted.

Captain Bishop, secretary to the close committee, gave Whitelocke a paper of intelligence, which he had received from some of the king's party, his pensioners, which was thus :

September 17th, 1653.

Att a meeting of some of the king's chiefe agents, part of their discourse was this. One said, " what will be your
 " advantage when you have taken off Cromwell and Lam-
 " bert, seeing the present men in power are butt a com-
 " pany of giddy headed men ; some of the old men, as
 " Bradeshawe, St. John, Whitelocke, Rolles, Vane, would
 " take the opportunity to bring themselves in power againe,
 " and if one of those gett it into their hands, we shall
 " never gett it out againe, they being the men that turned
 " the wheele of the nation formerly ; and what Cromwell
 " did was by force to take it out of their hands, lest he
 " should be turned out himselfe.

" For Bradeshawe (said one) I heare he is going for
 " Wiltshire, I warrant you we shall take a course with him ;
 " you need not feare his returne : he is left to himselfe
 " now, and out of his army guard ; he will not be walk-
 " ing on his battlements att Whitehall.

" For Whitelocke (said another) it was the wisest act that
 " ever those men did to send him to Sweden ; for he hath

" a

“ a long journey to goe, and before he comes to his jour- 1693.
 “ neys end, he may meet with divers good friends.”

Sept. 27.

They were all of them of the opinion, that those men must be taken off, as well as Cromwell, for the reasons aforesaid; and that it was so concluded, without which, they said, their ends could not be effected.

From other hands Whitelocke heard, that the king, being offered by some their service to murder Whitelocke, he forbade them to doe so unworthy and sinfull an act, to which, he sayd, he would give no countenance, nor be party to it by the least connivance.

The intelligence from Bishop did not so much affect or disturb Whitelocke, as to kindle any apprehensions in him of daunger; butt he looked upon it only as taverne talke of some giddy people.

Mr. Lagerfeldt sent his secretary to Whitelocke, to know what time he would be within, that Lagerfeldt might come to visit him: Whitelocke answered, that he had some extraordinary occasions for a few days; butt if Lagerfeldt pleased to come to him on Thursday next, in the afternoon, he would be then at home to receive the honor of his visite; at which the secretary went away, not seeming pleased that the receiving of his lord's visit should be so long deferred.

This order of the councell was brought to Whitelocke by 28.
 one of their messengers.

1653.

Wednesday, 28th September, 1653.

Sept. 28.

Att the councell of state att Whitehall. Ordered, " That
 " it be signified to the lord commissioner Whitelocke, that
 " if his lordship shall thinke fitt to nominate a fitt person
 " to goe with him as another chaplein in his ambassy into
 " Sweden; the councell will therupon be ready to advance
 " 100 l. unto him, as hath bin done to those made choice
 " of by the lord L'Ile.

EX^r. Jo. THURLOE, sec^r."

Uppon this vote, more application was made than formerly for this imployment.

29. Mr. Lagerfeldt sent his servant to Whitelocke to excuse his not coming to him this day, as was appointed; which some supposed he did in point of state, because he was not admitted to his visit so soon as he expected; therefore he would not come so soone as was by Whitelocke appointed.

Whitelocke went to the generall, and informed him of the shortness of the allowance voted by the councell for his expences in his ambassy, not sufficient to defray the charges therof in such a manner, as would be for the honor of the common-wealth, and the security of their servant; wherof Cromwell seemed very sensible, and promised to move the councell for an increase of it.

30. A messenger of the councell brought to Whitelocke a copy of the instructions which had bin prepared for the lord L'Ile, when he was to have gone ambassador to Sweden; and Whitelocke was desired to peruse them, and give his

his opinion what he thought fitt to be altered or added to them. He gave the messenger a note under his hand for the receipt of them. 1653.
 Sept. 30.

Lagerfeldt, in the afternoon, visited Whitelocke. He was tall, of an ingenious countenance, and civill behaviour; his carriage was in the port of a publique minister, rather above, than below his character.

He was attended with six gentlemen, well habited, and four lacquayes in liveryes, decent, butt not rich or gawdy. Whitelocke mett him att the doore of his house, where (after salutations) Lagerfeldt spake, in good latin, to this effect:

Lag. Most excellent lord ambassador, I being acquainted from your excellence, that the parlement of the common-wealth of England have designed you to goe ambassador to her most serene majesty the queen of Sweden, my most gracious mistris; I have desired the permission of this visit, to give your excellence thanks for your respects therin: and in the name of her majesty (whose publique minister I have the honor to be to this common-wealth) I doe congratulate the great and deserved honor conferred on you by the parlement.

Whitelocke answered him in latin to this effect:

Wh. My lord, you are pleased to conferre uppon me a great addition of honor by the favour of this visit, and by testifying the respects of her majesty, your gracious mistris, to me her humble servant; and that by so noble a person as your lordship, her majesty's publique minister to this common-

1653. mon-wealth: I intreate this further favour from you, that
 ~~~~~ your lordship will be pleased to enter into this house, and  
 Sept. 30. to accept the command of it.

They went in together; the precedence given by Whitelocke to Lagerfeldt, because he was a stranger, and according to the custome of his, and other forreign countryes.

Whitelocke appointed some of his servants, who spake latin and high dutch, to entertaine Lagerfeldt's gentlemen with discourse and wine. Lagerfeldt and he sate together in the withdrawing-roome, and sometimes walked in the garden: they had many complements past between them; Lagerfeldt commending the choice of Whitelocke to be ambassador to his mistress, and Whitelocke's abilities for it, &c. Whitelocke modestly excusing his want of them, and advancing the honor and greatnes of the queen and nation of Sweden, and professing his respects and affection to them.

Lagerfeldt highly extolled the generosity and civility of the queen to strangers, especially to publique ministers, and said, it would be as high to Whitelocke as to any; and that there was no doubt but that he would have good successe in his buisnes, to which he knew her majesty, his mistress, was very well inclined.

Whitelocke asked his advice, which way would be best for him to take his journey; and Lagerfeldt was positive, that the best way for him would be by Gothenburgh: that if he should goe that way by land, he must travayle through the Lowe Countryes, and Denmarke, both which were enemies to England; and to goe by sea to Stockholme, would be

be daungerous att this time of the year ; and if frost should take them, it would be impaffable.

1653.  
 Sept. 30.

Whitelocke inquired of him touching the land journey from Gothenburgh to the court, and what accomodations were to be had by the way in that countrey.

Lagerfeldt said, that the journey by land would be long, neer 400 miles English, butt the way was good : and that the queen would give command, that no accomodations or provisions for him should be wanting, which the countrey would afforde ; and they were very good, though not such as travaylers use to meet with in England.

They discoursed of the murder of Ayscham, and Doriflaus, in Spayne, and in the Low Countryes, being publique ministers sent abroad by the parlement : to which Lagerfeldt said, that there was not the least daunger of any such thing to be attempted in Sweden ; that the queen, and her subordinat officers, were extraordinary carefull to prevent any such barbarous act ; and that neither her subjects, nor any straungers, durst commit, or presume to attempt, any such thing in her kingdome ; and if they should, the lawe was extreemly severe in those cases. Butt he said, that never any such fact had bin perpetrated among them : and Whitelocke, as to his life and freedome from affacination, might be as secure there as in any countrey in the world, and as in his own countrey.

Lagerfeldt spake much, how necessary it was for the common-wealth of England to answer the respects of the queen, his mistris, who had sent hither severall publique ministers, and had received yett none from hence, which she expected as a civility due to her ; and that the treaty between  
 the

1653. the two nations could not be so well concluded, without  
an ambassador from England, to be there upon the place:  
Sept. 30.

Much other discourse they had about the coldnes of the country, which Lagerfeldt said, might very well be indured, with warme cloathing, and good fuell, wherof they had plenty. Much other discourse passed between them, about the treaty, and divers other particulars; till, with long talking and walking, Whitelocke became very weary: and after many complements and ceremonies, Whitelocke brought him to his coach; and so they parted.

OCTOBER.

## O C T O B E R.

THE councill of state was moved by Cromwell, according to his promise to Whitelocke, for an addition to the allowance formerly voted by them for Whitelocke's expences in the ambassy; and uppon Cromwell's motion, the councill voted 500 l. more to be added to their former vote for Whitelocke's allowance; who was troubled also at this smalle addition, knowing that Cromwell, if he had so pleased, might as well have procured 500 l. per menssem, as one 500 l. only, to have bin added: for what Cromwell, and his private iuncto thought fitt to be done, was generally confirmed without objection; so great a power had he and his few private counsellors, which caused murmuring in many at it.

1653.  
October  
1.

Many suitors were importunate with Whitelocke to goe with him into Sweden, whom he denied, because of the shortnes of his allowance. He was at the publique worship with his wife and family this Lord's day, and afterwards, at his private retirement and meditations.

2.

Doctor Winston, a true, noble, and bountifull friend to Whitelocke and his family, among other good offices, was very sollicitous to procure a good physitian to goe with Whitelocke in his journey, which he advised as necessary in that countrey; and because he feared sicknes, and mis-happs might be in so large a family, in so great a journey, change of diet and climate; and protested, that he would have gone himselfe with Whitelocke, butt that he was above

3.



1653. eighty years of age : and he encouraged Whitelocke, from  
 the first, to undertake it.  
 Octob. 3.

He pitched uppon doctor Whistler, whom he recommended to Whitelocke to goe with him ; himselve provided medicaments both for physicke and surgery, wherein doctor Whistler was also experienced, being the physitian that tooke care of the wounded seamen, who were many in the war with the Dutch ; and doctor Whistler had gained much reputation in severall great cures on many of them. This employment caused him, in discretion, to desire, that before he left it, he might have the states leave, and order for it ; which Whitelocke procured from the councell by this order :

*Monday, October 3d, 1653.*

Att the councell of state at Whitehall. Ordered, “ That  
 “ doctor Whistler be sent unto, and desired to accompany  
 “ the lord ambassador Whitelocke, as his physitian in his  
 “ ambassy into Sweden.

“ Ex<sup>r</sup>. Jo. THURLOE, sec<sup>r</sup>. ”

Uppon this order he freely consented, and prepared to goe with Whitelocke in his voyage.

4. The councell having formerly ordered 3000 l. to be paid to Whitelocke in part of his allowance ; they now ordered Mr. Frost, secretary assistant to the councell, to pay the same, which he did to one of Whitelocke's servants ; and Whitelocke gave an acquittance to Mr. Frost for that 3000 l. on the backside of the councell's order.

White-

Whitelocke removed himselfe and wife, and some of his children, to his kind friend and brother-in-law's house, Mr. Samuell Willson, whose wife and Whitelocke's wife were sisters; that being there in London, he might be the neerer to his buisnes, and see his wife and part of his family settled with such friends as might be a comfort to her in her husband's absence.

1653.  
Oct. 5.

A petition was presented by Whitelocke to the councell, desiring them to move the parlement, that the salary now behind and due to him as a commissioner of the Great Seale, being 1050 l. might be ordered by the house to be paid unto him; and the councell undertooke it. Whitelocke held it the fitter to be pressed at this time before his going; lest, if he did not receive it upon this occasion, he should never gett it. 6.

Captain Bishop sent him a long letter of intelligence, touching the swedish affayres, which he gathered to come from Sir John Cokeram, and returned thanks for it.

Captain Limrey sent him a letter, that he had procured a pilote for his voyage; whom Whitelocke trusted, being his friend, a man of much honesty and experience in sea matters.

Monfieur de la Marche, a Guernsey man, was intertained by Whitelocke to be his other chapelin. As to other ordinary imployments and service under him in his voyage, there being many earnest suitors, and divers particulars of several natures to be looked after in order to his journey, which Whitelocke had neither leisure nor liking to dispatch in his own person; he, by writing under his hand, desired some of his friends well knowne att court, and some of his owne officers

7.

1653. and gentlemen, and his son, or any three of them, to be  
 as a committee for him and his affayres relating to his am-  
 Oct. 7. bassay, to peruse the list of his retinue, to examine the fit-  
 nes of persons recommended to Whitelocke's service, to  
 agree for wages, advance-money, &c. to take order for  
 provisions, and preparations for the voyage: and to this  
 committee Whitelocke referred all matters generally relating  
 to this buisnes, and such as were most troublesome and lesse  
 convenient for his own personall dispatch, and wherby envy  
 and distaste were the more avoyded; many of the com-  
 mittee being better able to undergoe them, than himselve  
 singly. This committee made applications to the councell  
 and to committees of parlement, and tooke very much care  
 and paines in this buisnes, approving their affection and  
 friendship unto Whitelocke.

8. Having leifure, Whitelocke retired himselve to discourse  
 and reade french and latin; indeavouring to renew and  
 improve his knowledge in those languages, wherof he was  
 likely to have so much use in his employment.

Divers members of parlement, friends to Whitelocke, to  
 do him a favour, sent him word, that they would come and  
 dine with him; butt (as is usuall) they caused preparation  
 and attendance for them, and then fayled to come, alleadg-  
 ing the house long sitting for their apology.

Monfieur D'Espagne, minister of the french church, re-  
 commended to Whitelocke some notes and advice from a rare  
 phyfician in London, his countryman, to be observed by  
 Whitelocke in his journey; and sent them with magnificent  
 titles to him.

*The Lord's day*, Whitelocke went to the french church, 1653. which was neer unto his lodging; and there he heard very good preaching, and received civility from the members and officers of their congregation, who were pleased to take notice of him: and by hearing their ministers, who spake the best language, Whitelocke had the advantage the better to improve his own knowledge in the french tongue. Oct. 9.

Lagerfeldt sent his secretary to Whitelocke, to informe him, that divers swedish ships were heer detained as prizes against right; and he desired Whitelocke's assistance to gett them discharged; wherby he said, Whitelocke would oblige that crown and nation, and give them further cause of desiring and embracing an alliance with this common-wealth: heerof he sent a memoire in writing to Whitelocke, who promised to use his best indeavours in this or any other occasion, to testify his respects to that crown and nation. 10.

He tooke all times of leisure to meditate and study the buisnes and duety of ambassadors, which weighty charge he had undertaken; and from that text, Gen. xxiv. and the expositions of it, he found much light on this argument.

Whitelocke indeavoured to gett a release of the swedish ships detained as prize, and gave a paper to the councell for that purpose; but nothing effectuell was done by them. 11.

The parlement ordered the payment of 1050 l. to Whitelocke, being the arreares of his salary as commissioner of the seale.

He gott together divers papers and bookes relating to his buisnes, as *Constitutio Regni Sueciæ*, Fowler's booke of the treaty between Sweden and Poland, *Reipub. Sueciæ*, *Daniæ*, *Poloniæ*,

1653. Poloniæ, the Succession of their kings, Exigefis Sueciæ, and others. His noble friend Sir Thomas Cotton, out of his rare treasury of antiquities, monuments, and manuscripts, lent him severall volumes in MS. of treatyes between England and Sweden, and between England and Denmarke, and between Sweden and Denmarke, and Polands, and divers other MS. concerning matters of trade, more particularly in the northerne parts; all which were carefully made use of by Whitelocke, in the perusall of them: and he had them with him in his being abroad; and he thankfully returned them to the owner, att his coming agayne to his own countrey.

Oct. 11.

12. By invitation Whitelocke mett at Mr. Croon's, at Cambden-houfe, with generall Blake, generall Monke, and divers other land and sea officers, with whom he had much discourse about his voyage, and many complements and ceremonies from them; and heer he had opportunity of speaking with them about ships for his transportation, wherein they promised and performed all courtesy.

The councill made this order.

“ These are to will and require you, to permit and suffer  
 “ the lord ambassador Whitelocke to ship and transport his  
 “ necessaries and horses, without any lett or molestation,  
 “ in order to his going ambassador from this common-wealth  
 “ to the queen of Sweden; of which you are not to fayle.

“ Given at the councill of state at Whitehall, this 12th  
 “ of October, 1653.

“ Signed in the name, and by order

To the Commissioners  
 of the Customs.

“ of the councill of State.

“ WILLIAM SYDENHAM, President.”

They made another order, signed by the president and five members of the councell, for payment of 500 l. to Whitelocke, uppon account, directed to Mr. Frost; and another to the commissioners of Haberdashers Hall, for 1000 l. more uppon account to Whitelocke, towards defraying of the charges of his ambassy.

1653.  
Oct. 12.

On the backside of the councells order, Whitelocke subscribed an acquittance for 500 l. Lagerfeldt's secretary brought newes from his lordship to Whitelocke, that the queen of Sweden was resolved to reside this winter at Gothenbergh, which newes Whitelocke had cause to wish might be true; and it would save him his land journey.

13.

Lagerfeldt's secretary desired Whitelocke to appoint a time and place for his lordship and Whitelocke to meet the next day: and although Lagerfeldt, in ceremony, should have come to Whitelocke, if he desired to speak with him; yett Whitelocke appointed a meeting att a friends chamber in Whitehall att the time desired.

The commissioners for compounding gave their warrant to the treasurers, for the payment of the 1000 l. last ordered to Whitelocke.

14.

He mett this afternoon with Lagerfeldt, who showed him a letter under the queen of Sweden's hand, that she intended to be at Gothenbergh this winter, for the better dispatch of the holland and english affayres; and wished Lagerfeldt, that if the resolution held of sending an ambassador to her from England, that he should councell the ambassador to come directly to Gothenbergh, where he should find the queen. Whitelocke doubted whether this purpose of her majesty

majesty

1653. majesty would hold ; butt Lagerfeldt was confident it  
Oct. 14. would.

They had much discourse what provisions Whitelocke should make, and about the swedish prizes ; and Lagerfeldt said, this was no good beginning of amity ; that Whitelocke's negociation would be furthered by the release of them, and perhaps obstructed by the detention of them. Whitelocke insisted upon the point of justice, whether those things were lawfull prize or not ; yet was very sensible of the consequence thereof, as to his buisnes ; and therefore laboured with the councill (though in vayne) for the release of them.

15. Sir Charles Oulsey, and divers other members of the parlement, dined with Whitelocke at his brother Willson's house, and had much discourse with him touching his journey ; and the deferring of it till the spring, before which time, he was perswaded, and (by these and some others in power, as farre as they could ingage) promised, that he should not be putt upon it : the reasons given by themselves were the danger, and almost impassableness of the northern seas in winter ; that the spring was more seasonable for the journey ; and it would be no prejudice to the affayres of England to putt it off till then.

Whitelocke had the more cause to hope it might be so ; because the councill of state had very much delayed the buisnes ; and in two months together had not prepared any commission, instructions, or credentialls ; and att this time of the year, though the wind had bin severall times fayre, had deferred the buisnes.

Sir Charles Oulsey and Mr. Moyer, being members of the councill, said they would move the councill this afternoon  
 for

for an order to putt of his going till the spring ; butt Whitelocke desired them to consider, whether such a motion might not revive the buisnes, which now lay quiet, and being stirred, might putt the councill in mind to order his speedy departure, rather than his longer stay : butt these gentlemen were confident to gett the councill's order for deferring his journey ; and he must leave it to them, who were masters of their own motions, and councillors themselves. They made this motion to the councill in the afternoon, butt with contrary successe to what they undertooke ; and what Whitelocke and his friends expected.

1653.

Oct. 15.

Mr. Busheell an ingenious gentleman, who had bin a servant to the lord chancellor Bacon, sent a civill letter to Whitelocke, with a noble present ; a curious rich cabinet of green velvet, with silver lace ; in it were two dozen of quart glasses of the most rare and best distilled spirits of hott waters, after the direction of his lord ; and every glasse had its screwes and cover of welch silver, chiefly found out by himselfe : it was suitable to the time, and journey.

The councill made severall orders for hangings, household stufte, coaches, and other things for Whitelocke's journey.

In the evening, Sir Charles Oulsey, Mr. Strickland, and alderman Tichborne came to Whitelocke, as a committee of the councill, and acquainted him, that the councill had this day taken into consideration the buisnes of his journey into Sweden ; and had sent them to him, to lett him know, that uppon serious debate, as affayres now stand, the councill found it necessary that Whitelocke should transport himselfe with all expedition into Sweden ; and desired him to prepare himselfe accordingly.




1653. Whitelocke told them, he was much surprized with this  
 ~~~~~ unexpected message and commaund, especially having bin  
 Oct. 15. assured by some (and of no smalle capacity to make it good)
 that he should not be putt uppon this journey till the spring;
 and that some of this committee were perswaded that they
 could procure an order of the councell for his stay till that
 time; and now to bring such a positive order to the con-
 trary, and the allowance yett voted was so short, this time
 of the year so unseasonable, his wife's condition so unfitt to
 be left, and the publique affayres not requiring his speedy
 departure, seemed strange to him, and was the lesse ex-
 pected by him.

The committee replied, that the councell had weighed
 all considerations, and found it requisite that he should goe
 as soon as possibly he could.

Whitelocke then desired them as private friends, to ac-
 quaint him how it came to passe, that uppon the motion
 of some of them for his stay till spring, it should be ordered
 that speedily he must take his voyage.

They answered; that when the motion was made, it
 brought matters to the consideration of the councell, which
 otherwise perhaps would not have bin stirred or thought
 uppon; and as (they confest) himselfe had said before, the
 moving of the buisnes occasioned the order, which otherwise
 probably had not bin yett made; and what his friends de-
 signed by moving it, to have bin a service to him, proved
 an inconvenience; for which they were sorry, butt could
 not now help it: and so the committee left him.

This putt Whitelocke to some perplexity, and his wife
 into great passion; butt the ingagement was too farre
 7 past,

past, to disobey or dispute commaunds of superiors ; he 1653.
 saw no other way butt to conforme : and still resolving to 
 trust God for his protection and blessing, he determined to Oct. 15.
 buckle himselfe to his buisnes with diligence, and to indea-
 vor the speedy preparation of things necessary for his voyage,
 and that with all diligence.

The Lord's day. Whitelocke was at the french church, 16.
 and had one of his chapleins in the afternoone to officiate in
 his house, his wife not being well ; and he had leifure to re-
 tire himselfe to private meditations on the holy word.

Whitelocke was invited to meet Cromwell, and the land 17.
 and sea officers, att a publique dinner and intertainment at
 Grocers Hall.

The councill tooke yett no further order about the rest of
 his money, nor for his commissions and instructions ; never-
 theles sent to him, speedily to take his journey. He, to pre-
 vent any censure of his negligence, directed the hiring of one
 merchant's ship to carry his baggage, and another for his
 horses : he ordered no goods to be taken on board any of his
 ships, nor as belonging to his company, unlesse they had
 uppon the packett or tronke Whitelocke's coate of armes in
 a finalle escutcheon of a print properly made for it ; and
 with this marke the officers past all goods without searche.
 He sealed writings for the selling of his estate, and to pre-
 vent controversies after his death, and to raise portions for
 his younger children ; he appointed servants to manage his
 affayres in the countrey ; and to his wife he left the com-
 maund of all.

Whitelocke made correspondents to answer all his bills of 18.
 exchange ; his brothers-in-law, Mr. John Carleton, and Mr.

1653. Samuell Willfon, merchants, of good value and credit, and
 his kind friends.
 Oct. 18.

For private letters he chiefly desired his old friend Mr. Hall, and Mr. Cokaine, now living in his house, and well acquainted in the army, and with many in power, to receive and answere such letters; and Mr. Cokaine constantly to send to him, and to act for his affayres heer as there should be occasion.

And for more publique letters, he settled a correspondence with his friends, Mr. Thurloe, secretary to the counsell, Sir Charles Oulsey, and others.

19. Uppon advice and incouragement of Cromwell, Whitelocke sent to Lagerfeldt; "that if he pleased to accompany Whitelocke, as his friend, to a dinner in the citty, where he should meet the lord generall Cromwell, the generalls att sea, and many of the land and sea officers, that his company would be acceptable to them all, as it was to Whitelocke att all times."

Lagerfeldt came willingly to Whitelocke, and they went together to Grocers Hall, where the feast was; and this Whitelocke designed, that Lagerfeldt might be a wittnes of the solemnity, and of the unity of that company, being three hundred officers.

Before dinner, Mr. Peters prayed, and expounded a place of scripture, and a psalme was sung; Lagerfeldt being present, and very attentive.

Att dinner, Lagerfeldt sate by Cromwell, att the board's end; Whitelocke on the right hand bench uppermost; the
 generall

general discourféd a little in latin with Lagerfeldt, Whitelocke more: there were three very long tables full in the hall; thofe at each table feverally, and with ceremony, firft drank to Cromwell, then to Lagerfeldt; and they afterwards, feverally, drank to each table; then all the tables together drank to Whitelocke, wifhing him a good voyage, and their refpects to the queen of Sweden; with which ceremonies Lagerfeldt feemed much pleafed, and that he was admitted to this meeting.

1653.

Oct. 19.

After the folemnities were paf, every one parted to their feverall lodgings, and occafions. Lagerfeldt had much difcourfe with Whitelocke in their returne from this meeting, wondering att the civility and good order of fo great a company, and that there was not a health drunke, nor the leaft rudeneffe among any of them. Whitelocke told him, this was their conftant demeanor, which Lagerfeldt highly commended; and, after ceremonies, they alfo parted.

By appointment, Whitelocke mett Lagerfeldt att the Doctors Commons, to fpeake with the judges of the admiralty about the fwedifh fhips detained for prize. In the difcourfe with the judges Lagerfeldt betrayed much choller and paffion; Whitelocke preffed to the judges the releafe of thofe fhips, and had good words; butt little effect thereof could be obtained.

20.

Whitelocke received 1000 l. more in part of his allowance for his expences.

After much protraction of time, the councell att length reported to the parlement a commiffion, credentiall letters, and inftructions for Whitelocke, as ambaffador extraordinary to the queen of Sweden.

21.

They

1653. They found worke enough this day to reade, debate,
 and passe them in the house; and disputes were rayfed in
 Oct. 21. some of the particulars, and most from those who had least
 understanding and experience in affayres of this nature: butt
 att length they passed as they were reported.

22. The custody of the library att St. James's had bin formerly committed to Whitelocke, wherein were many rare manuscripts, and choice bookes of the king's, wherof Whitelocke was a lover, and a carefull preserver, otherwise they had all bin sold and imbeaziled. Uppon Whitelocke's going out of England, Mr. Lawrence procured an order for Whitelocke to deliver up the keyes of that library to the committee of the councill appointed to take care of it, which Whitelocke obeyed; and so Mr. Lawrence gott the custody of it to himselfe*.

23. *This Lord's day*, Whitelocke was att Mr. Cokain's church, where was a christian mention, and recommendation of him in their prayers to God, that he would be a protection and blessing to him in his journey. In the afternoone he stayed att home, his wife not being well, and he not long to stay with her.

The wind came about very fayre for Whitelocke's voyage; and att this time of the yeare, it was hard for one that must goe, yett to loose such opportunities; but the councill were not ready, and Whitelocke must goe when they command, and yett attend their leisure.

24. The general att sea gave forth this order for Whitelocke's voyage.

* Concerning the present situation of this valuable library, vid. note to our author's comment upon the king's writ, &c. vol. ii. p. 279.

“ After

“ After you have received on board the lord Whitelocke, 1653.
 “ with his retinue, and such goods as he shall thinke fitt to
 “ send on board you; you are then, wind and weather Oct. 24.
 “ permitting, to sett sayle with the ship under your com-
 “ mand, (in company with the Elizabeth frigott, and such
 “ other vessells as are appointed to attend uppon the said
 “ lord Whitelocke, ambassador extraordinary for Sweden;
 “ who are heerby required to observe your orders,) and
 “ yourfelfe, to observe such instructions and directions, as
 “ you shall receive from the said lord ambassador, whom
 “ you are to land att such porte as he shall thinke fitt;
 “ which done, you are to make your repayre to Portef-
 “ mouth, there to receive further orders: and this shall be
 “ your warrant. Given under our hands and seales, att
 “ Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1653.

To Captain Nicholas Foster,
 commander of the Phoenix
 frigott.

“ JO. BLAKE.
 “ GEO. MONCK.”

The copy of this order was brought to Whitelocke, as a
 testimony of the high respect to him, by giving him the
 commaund of the frigotts, and other vessells, which were
 to transport him; and that knowing his power, he might
 make the better use of it.

Whitelocke fate in the chancery; and after he had given 25.
 the rule in two or three motions, he rose and tooke his
 leave of his brethren, and of the gentlemen att the barre,
 and of the officers, who gave him all testimonies of civility
 and respect, as is usually done to men in authority: he had
 the like courtesy from the other courts in Westminster-hall,
 whom he saluted as he passed by them.

Besides

1653. Besides his private and particular seeking to God for
 his councell and blessing in this undertaking, he had the
 Oct. 25. joynt prayers of his friends with him; divers of them mett
 in the evening att his brother Willson's house, severall
 members of Mr. Cokain's church, and among them Mr.
 Taylor expounded a place of scripture very pertinently, and
 severall of them prayed very affectionately for Whitelocke,
 and the good successe of his buisnes; and divers expounded
 places of scripture fuitable to the occasion. Whitelocke's
 wife was present, full of grieve, trouble, and passion.
 Whitelocke himselfe spake to the company to this effect:

“ My very worthy friends,

“ Such you have showed yourselves to be by this meet-
 “ ing; severall of you have spoken what it hath pleased
 “ God to putt into your hearts, and that with great piety
 “ and affection; and have sought God on my behalfe, and
 “ I suppose you may expect to heare something from me
 “ likewise on this occasion, wherein I am so much con-
 “ cerned. I shall not hold you long, and shall speake
 “ from that scripture from which I have taken much com-
 “ fort, Gen. xxviii. 15. where God makes this promise to
 “ Jacob, in his journey to Padan Aram: “ Behold I am
 “ with thee, and will keep thee in all places, whither thou
 “ goest, and will bring thee againe into this land.”

“ Jacob was a faithfull servant of God, and heir of the
 “ promise; I am a poor inconsiderable worme; yett God
 “ delights to glorify his mercy on the meanest subjects.
 “ God directed this journey of Jacob's, I hope he hath
 “ directed mine, and called me to it; I am sure I did not
 “ seeke it, nor had ever any one a freer call to any ser-
 “ vice. Methinkes I heare the same words spoken by the
 “ same

“fame God, though to so worthless a creature as I am: 1653.
 “Behold I am with thee in all places; whither thou goest, ^{Oct. 25.}
 “I will bring thee againe into this land.” My confidence
 “is in this mercy of God; and my hopes, that he may use
 “me as an instrument to promote his honor, hath bin my
 “chiefe motives for this undertaking, and is my only hope
 “to partake of this gracious promise. These words to
 “Jacob are spoken to all who shall be att any time in
 “God’s service, and depend on him.

“That I have designed heerby to serve my countrey,
 “without expectation of profit to myselfe, may have the
 “more credit from the smallenes of my allowances, and
 “the unlikelyhood of advantage by the imployment.

“Nor was there much pleasure to be aimed att in so
 “long and daungerous a journey to the northerne coun-
 “tries, in the depth of winter: nor could much honor be
 “added by it to my present condition; and if any, it would
 “be farre fetcht, short, and deare bought.

“It is the honor of God, the good of his people, the
 “advantage of my countrey, which are the grounds of this
 “my undertaking; wherein I desire to trust in my God,
 “who hath bin with me in many former great actions and
 “perills, “in six troubles and in seven.” I hope he will be
 “still unto me (as he is to all that rest uppon him) a sun to
 “direct me, to give me light to shine uppon me, and to
 “comfort me; a shield to protect and defend me and my
 “company; and an exceeding great reward to me, farre
 “beyond any that the most bountifull state or prince can
 “bestow uppon their best deserving servants.

1653. “ I have butt one thing more to trouble you with att
 Oct. 25. “ this time ; it is to returne my most hearty thanks to
 “ you for the favour and comfort of this meeting, for your
 “ pious exhortations, and fervent prayers to God on my
 “ behalfe.

“ O that I might be carryed forth in this action uppon
 “ the winges of prayer ; I hope I shall : and make it my
 “ earnest suit to you, my christian friends, that as now,
 “ and att severall other times, you and many others have
 “ bin seeking the Lord for me ; that your prayers may not
 “ cease ; that they may not leave me, when I shall leave
 “ you ; butt that whilest I am with you, and in my
 “ absence from you, I may be remembred in your prayers,
 “ and recommended to the protection, guidance, and
 “ blessing of him, who is the God of prayer and mercy ;
 “ who delights in such offerings as these, and never denyes
 “ his blessings to those that seeke him with fervent hearts
 “ and prayers.”

Mr. Cokain concluded with very patheticall and affectionate prayers to God, on Whitelocke's behalfe, very suitable, and pertinent to the occasion ; and then, it being late, they parted, with all love and hearty expressions of good wilhes to him.

26. Lagerfeldt and Bonnele had earnestly sollicitated Whitelocke to procure the discharge of the swedish ships detained as prize, wherby he would ingage the merchants and seamen, and the whole state of Sweden.

He laboured heartily to doe it, and personally with the judges of the admiralty, and with the councell, and chiefly uppon the argument of furthering their service by it ; yett
 could

could he not obtaine the least favour from them on the Swedes behalfe, butt the buifnes was delayed, and unef-
 1653:
 Oct. 26.

Cromwell fent one of his gentlemen with a present to Whitelocke ; a sword, and a payre of spurres, richly inlayed with gould, of a noble work and fashion.

An old and faithfull fervant to Whitelocke, who had served his father and him forty years, would needs come himfelfe to London, to take his leave of his master, and in his cart, brought up with him meale and other things for Whitelocke's journey ; he would not be perfwaded to stay all night in London ; butt, in his returne home, near Maydenhead, he suddenly fell downe in the highway, not able to fpeake ; his men helped him up into his carte, and there prefently, and quietly, he departed out of this world, and became a faint in heaven : he was on earth, a faithfull, difcreet, and loving fervant and friend to Whitelocke, and his family.

According to order, Whitelocke fent in to the councell, a lift of all his retinue.

Chapleins, Mr. Ingelo, Mr. de la Marche.

Phyfitian, doctor Daniel Whiftler.

Steward, John Walker, efq;

Receiver, and chiefe fecretary, Daniel Earle, efq; his meniall fervant.

Gentleman of the horfe, Mr. Stapleton.

Clerk of the ftable, and fever, captain Crifpe.

Second fever, lieutenant Hughes.

Apothecary, Mr. John Prefton.

1653.

Oct. 26.

Gentlemen admitted to his table ; colonel James Whitelocke and William Whitelocke, his sons, colonel Potley, Mr. Annesley, son to the lord of Valentia, captain Richard Beake, captain Unton Croke, Mr. Vavasour eldest son to Sir William Vavasour, Mr. Burges, Mr. Andrewes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Moreland, Mr. Potley. These gentlemen had of their servants about twenty-five, and all their lacquays in Whitelocke's livery.

Of his bed-chamber, William de Vaux, Jo. Taylor, William Fitzherbert.

Barber, Mr. Richard Ratcliffe.

Messenger, Mr. Richard Meredith.

Chieffy for musick, Mr. Smith, Mr. Maylard.

Purveyor, Mr. Studeley a trouper.

Gentlemen servitors att Whitelocke's table ; Mr. Frye, Mr. Davys, Mr. Draper, Mr. Bunbury, Troupes.

Pages, Mr. Parry, Mr. Elsing, Mr. Croke, Mr. Newbury.

Lacquays, Robert Dun, Robert Lewis, Thomas Briers, Robert Story, Humphry Murrey, Richard Cranke, Thomas Lloyd, Arthur Hutton, of the general's regiment of foot, proper, stout, and civill men.

Trumpets, Edward Simpson, William Waters.

Chiefe cookes, Richard Hill, Richard Dunne.

Second cookes, Henry Collington, William Hains.

Butlers, Thomas Thoroughton Whitelocke's meniall servant, and Christopher Hen.

Coachmen, Edward Ellis, an old menial servant, and Robert Ash, a menial servant.

Postilions, Aur. Newman, Roger Lowe.

Groomes, Nicholas Hughes, Thomas Hall, Francis Sharpe, and Nathaniel Sharpe, meniall servants.

Porter, Thomas Home, meniall servant.

Scullery-man, Sebastian Corall.

There were besides, severall other persons; and for the
laundrey, three women, Elizabeth Roberts, Susan
Turner, and another.

1653.

Oct. 26.

The whole number of his retinue was about one hundred persons.

Lagerfeldt's secretary brought to Whitelocke, from his
master, a latin letter, to desire his assistance in furthering
Lagerfeldt's dispatch, and the discharge of the swedish
ships. Whitelocke desired that Lagerfeldt would meet him
in the afternoon, and they had much discourse together
about the ships: it was excused by Whitelocke the best he
could, that they were not yett discharged. 27.

Whitelocke's wife, (though so passionately averse to his
journey) yett when she sawe he must goe, she took pains
in her own person, to buy necessaries, and make provi-
sions of wine, beere, meale, baked meats, butter, cheese,
fruits, sweet-meats, and all provisions, and household-stuffe,
hard to be mett with in Sweden, but necessary for his ac-
comodation. He had divers good horses of his own, for
the coach, and saddle; and he bought more, the best that
he could meet with, though att high prizes; resolving to
have (as farre as he could) the best of every thing, for the
honor of his countrey.

He caused a merchants ship, called the Adventure, to be
hired; and therin, with deale-boards, to be made racks,
mangers, and divisions, for all his horses, to keep them
from hurting themselves, or one another, in the tossing of
the ship: he contrived there also stowage for hay, oates,
and

1653. and stawe; so that it was a compleate stable on ship
board.
Oct. 27.

Another ship, called the Fortune, was hired to carry his baggage, and provisions, which was no smalle quantity; he tooke an account of his servants, how ready all things were for his voyage.


By his appointment, all his company mett in the chappell att Whitehall, to seek God for his protection, and blessing on them, in their intended journey.

The doores were open; Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Ingelo prayed, and expounded severall texts of scripture, giving good exhortations to all the company, with great fervency, and pertinent to the occasion; so that many affirmed, they never were att any meeting of this nature, which appeared more spirituall and comfortable to their souls, then this was.

Whitelocke himselfe concluded by speaking to the company to this effect:

“ Gentlemen,

“ I doe acknowledge myselfe much ingaged to you all,
“ who are willing to adventure your lives with me, in our
“ intended journey; butt before we beginne it, I shall take
“ leave to informe you of very great hardships, and
“ daungers, which you must expect to meet with in my
“ company: therefore, I shall say to you, as Gideon said
“ to his people, whosoever is fearfull, lett him returne and
“ depart; and as Judas Maccabæus commanded those of
“ his company, that if any of them were fearfull, they
“ should

“ should returne ; the like desire I make to you, whose 1653.
 “ hearts may fayle you, who have any doubt to hazard 
 “ yourselves with me in these daungers and hardships Oct. 27.
 “ which, (I must tell you before hand) will be great and
 “ many. To such of you I give my true consent, nay, I
 “ require them to returne and leave me, and I willingly
 “ disingage them.

“ I hold it fitt likewise to acquaint you, that I shall
 “ indeavour strictly to observe the decree of Joshua ; “as for
 “ me, and my house, we will serve the Lord.” Through his
 “ grace, I shall resolve to keep a strict discipline, and
 “ order, in the government of my house ; not to permit
 “ any debauchery, prophaneness, licentiousness, swearing,
 “ cursing, quarrelling, or the like, as farre as God shall
 “ inable me to hinder it ; butt such offences and disorders
 “ shall be punished, in whomsoever of my family they shall
 “ be found.

“ Therefore, as Joshua said to his people, “If it seem evil
 “ unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day, whom
 “ ye will serve.” If any of you have the least reluctancy in
 “ your owne hearts, as to the severity of my discipline,
 “ and cannot with freedome submit therunto, I intreate
 “ such not to deceive themselves and me, by hoping for
 “ connivance to any disorders, which I shall not beare :
 “ butt such will doe better, yett to withdraw themselves,
 “ and stay att home ; rather then among strangers to dis-
 “ honor the profession of religion, and their countrey.

“ Butt if your courages doe serve you for this action,
 “ and that you will fully conforme to the orders of my
 “ family ; I doe, with all willingnes and affection, receive
 “ you into my company, rejoycing att this great testimony
 “ of

1653. " of your love to your countrey, and to me, by adven-
 ~~~~~  
 Oct. 27. " turing your lives with me : and I do promise to take  
 " care of you, as of my sons that goe along with me. I  
 " hope God will make me a father to all my family ; no-  
 " thing in my power shall be wanting for your accomoda-  
 " tions and safety, no hardship or daunger putt uppon  
 " you, butt I shall be willing to beare my share of it ; and  
 " I doubt not butt the blessing of God will goe along  
 " with us."

With this the company were dismissed : not one of them  
 started from their former engagements ; butt many more  
 pressed to be intertained, which the smallnes of his allow-  
 ance would not admit ; so that he was fayne to putt off  
 above two hundred gentlemen and others, who made suit  
 to go with him in this journey.

28. A messenger brought this order to Whitelocke.

*Friday, 28th October, 1653.*

" Resolved uppon the question by the parlement, that  
 " to-morrow morning be appointed for the lord commis-  
 " sioner Whitelocke, lord ambassador extraordinary to the  
 " queen of Sweden, to come to the house to receive his  
 " commission.

" HEN. SCOBEL, Clerke Par."

Whitelocke tooke more paines about the release of the  
 swedish ships, and had fayre promises, butt the performance  
 delayed and fayled.

According

According to order, Whitelocke this morning attended <sup>1653.</sup>  
 the parlement; many members of the house came to him <sup>Oct. 29.</sup>  
 to the court of wards chamber, where he stayed till he  
 should be called, and they wished him a good voyage.

Within a quarter of an hower he was sent for; the ser-  
 geant was ready, and brought him into the house with usuall  
 ceremonies, up to the table; the speaker said to him:

“ MY LORD,

“ The parlement have appointed you to go ambassador  
 “ extraordinary from them to the queen of Sweden; and  
 “ by their commaund, I deliver to you your commission,  
 “ and credentiall letters, and instructions, with another letter  
 “ to the queen; and wish you a safe and prosperous journey,  
 “ and returne back agayne to your native countrey.”


As the custome is, Whitelocke spake nothing, butt re-  
 ceived the commission, letters, and instructions from the  
 clerke, to whom the speaker gave them to deliver unto  
 Whitelocke, who returned to the doore, performing the  
 usuall ceremonies; and the members stood up in their  
 places, and putt off their hats as he passed by saluting  
 them, a ceremony seldome used to any butt forein publique  
 ministers.

Many members and others came to him when he was  
 come forth of the house, to take their leaves of him, and  
 testified great civility and respect to him.

The commission which the speaker delivered to White-  
 locke was under the great seale, and was thus.



1653.

  
 Oct. 29.

“ Parliamentum reipublicæ Angliæ omnibus et singulis ad  
 “ quos præsentēs hæ nostræ litteræ pervenerint, sa-  
 “ lutem. Quum libertate jam Dei optimi maximi au-  
 “ spiciis recuperata et restituta Angliæ reipublicæ ;

“ Decretum a parlamento, nec non edicto edito promul-  
 “ gatum sit, velle atque admodum cupere populum Angli-  
 “ canum, et quod ad se attinet operam daturum, ut quæ  
 “ sibi amicitia cum exteris quibuscunq; nationibus vel an-  
 “ tiquitus vel recens intercedit facta tecta conservetur ; vel  
 “ etiam redintegrato, si opus esset fœdere, renovetur.

“ Nos idcirco, ne inceptum tam bonum tamq; pacificum  
 “ finem speratum non assequeretur ; omnes respublicas,  
 “ status, principes, civitates ac populos, et præsertim serenif-  
 “ simam et excellentissimam Christinam Dei gratia Suecorum,  
 “ Gothorum, Vandalorumq; reginam, magnam principem  
 “ Finlandiæ, ducem Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ,  
 “ Statini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, et Vandaliæ, principem  
 “ Rugiæ nec non dominam Ingriæ et Wisinariæ, &c. hac  
 “ de re certiolem faciendam esse decrevimus ; cum qua ut  
 “ amicitiam et societatem arctiorem contrahere velimus,  
 “ et antiqua communisq; religionis defensio, et commercium  
 “ non inutiliter frequentissimum suadeat, et hortatur. Sciatis  
 “ igitur quod nos prudentiæ, solertiæ, diligentæ fidei ac pro-  
 “ bitati spectatissimæ illustrissimi viri Bulstrodi Whitelocke,  
 “ constabularii castri de Windsor, et unius custodum magni  
 “ sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ plurimum tribuentes, ipsum  
 “ prænominatum Bulstrodam Whitelocke nostrum verum,  
 “ et indubitatum commissarium, procuratorem, deputatum,  
 “ et legatum extraordinarium, ad prædictum negotium fe-  
 “ cimus, constituimus, ordinavimus, ac deputavimus,  
 “ dantes eidem, et committentes plenam potestatem et  
 “ authoritatem, nomine nostro, cum prædicta serenissima

“ et excellentissima Suecorum regina, ejusq; procuratoribus 1653.  
 “ ac deputatis, ad hoc sufficientem auctoritatem et potesta-  
 “ tem habentibus, tractandi et transigendi ea omnia quæ ad <sup>Oct. 29.</sup>  
 “ arctiorem amicitiam ac fœdus, et antiquum liberumq;  
 “ commercium inter Angliæ rempublicam, et excellentissi-  
 “ mam Suecorum reginam, et quascunq; sub utriusq; ditione  
 “ positos promovendum ac stabilendum conducunt et faci-  
 “ unt; secundum ea mandata quæ à parlamento, vel à con-  
 “ cilio status parlamenti, auctoritate constituto, jam accepit,  
 “ aut per litteras accepturus est. Promittentes bona fide  
 “ nos quæ inter prædictum serenissimam et excellentissimam  
 “ Suecorum reginam ejusq; procuratores et deputatos, atq;  
 “ prænominatum Bulstrodam Whitelocke nostrum commis-  
 “ sarium et legatum extraordinarium, transacta et conclusa  
 “ fuerint, modo illo quo supradictum est, ea omnia rata ac  
 “ firma habituros, et ex nostra parte observaturos. In cujus  
 “ rei testimonium his se litteris (quibus manus prolocutoris  
 “ nostri subscribitur) magnum reipublicæ Angliæ sigillum  
 “ opponi fecimus. Datum in palatio Westmonasterienfi,  
 “ Vigessimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini millesimo,  
 “ sexcentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio.

“ FRANCISCUS ROUS, Prolocutor parlamenti  
 “ reipublicæ Angliæ.”

The credentiall letters delivered by the speaker to White-  
locke were thus.

“ Parlamentum, &c. serenissimæ principi Christinæ Sue-  
 “ corum, &c. reginæ salutem, et prosperos rerum  
 “ successus.

“ SERENISSIMA REGINA,

“ Cum utile et necessarium rite judicatur, ut qui com-  
 “ muni saluti prospectam vellent, in commune consulerent,

1653. “ et consilia invicem miscerent ; adeoq; multis officiis cres-  
 cat indies amicitia : idcirco visum est parlamento rei-  
 Oct. 29. “ publicæ Angliæ delegare ad majestatem vestram prænobi-  
 “ lem atq; illustrissimum virum, Bulstrodeum Whitelocke,  
 “ constabularium castri de Windsor, atq; unum è custodi-  
 “ bus magni sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ, legatum nostrum  
 “ extraordinarium, ut de consiliis, et negotiis, quæ utriq;  
 “ genti et præsidio, et honori sint, vobiscum communicaret.  
 “ Rogamus igitur majestatem vestram, ut legatum nostrum  
 “ extraordinarium amice, et benigniter excipiat ; et au-  
 “ dientiam quotiescunq; petierit concedatis : utq; fides iis  
 “ quæ à parte hujus reipublicæ ab eo proponenda sunt ad-  
 “ hibeatur. Et sic vestram majestatem valere jubemus ; pro-  
 “ spera omnia, et fœlicia, vobis comprecantes. Datis  
 “ Westmonasterio 29 Octobris, 1653. Subscripsit, et sigil-  
 “ lum parlamenti imprimendum curavit,

“ FR. ROUS, Prolocutor parlamenti  
 “ reipub. Angliæ.”

The instructions which the speaker delivered to Whitelocke were these.

“ The parlement of the common-wealth of England, hav-  
 “ ing in this present conjuncture of affayres thought good  
 “ to send an extraordinary ambassador to the queen of Swe-  
 “ den, to communicate with that queen in matters relating  
 “ to the common good ; and having experience of your  
 “ fidelity and discretion, held it requisite to make choice of,  
 “ and appoint you to this negotiation.

“ You are therefore to transport yourselfe with all con-  
 “ venient speed to the queen of Sweden, at Stockeholm,  
 “ or

“ or elfewhere ; and deliver your credentialls to her 1653.  
 “ majesty.

Oct. 29.

“ You are to fignify to the faid queen, that the parle-  
 “ ment of the common-wealth of England, taking notice  
 “ of the conftant intercourfe of friendship and amity,  
 “ which hath always bin between England and Sweden, out  
 “ of which great profit and happines hath redounded unto  
 “ both. And that, although it hath pleased the gracious  
 “ and all-difpofing hand of God, for the good of this na-  
 “ tion, to change the government of the fame ; that yett  
 “ the fame common interefts, that firft begatt former alliances  
 “ and confederacies between them, doe ftill continue and  
 “ oblige both to defire the good of each other.

“ And confidering withall that the affayres of Chriften-  
 “ dome, and efpecially of the neighbouring princes and  
 “ ftates, through divine Providence are in fuch pofture  
 “ and condition, as to give greater opportunity, and lay  
 “ ftronger obligations uppon both, to intertaine a nearer  
 “ union and correfpondence than heertofores ; wherby the  
 “ commerce and tranquility of both nations may be pre-  
 “ ferved, and provided for, with refpect alfo to the com-  
 “ mon intereft and concernment of the true Proteftant  
 “ religion.

“ And the faid queen, having by her late publique mini-  
 “ fter hither, fignified her royall inclinations and willing-  
 “ nes, by all good means to conferve and increafe the antient  
 “ good understanding between thefe ftates ; the parle-  
 “ ment, uppon thefe and other weighty confiderations, and  
 “ to fhew how acceptable the former overtures of her faid  
 “ majesty have bin to them,

“ Have

1653. " Have thought fitt, by you, to make tender of the  
 friendship of this common-wealth unto the said queen of  
 Oct. 29. " Sweden ; and to lett her know, that the parlement of the  
 " common-wealth of England is not only ready to renew,  
 " and preserve inviolably, that amity and good correspon-  
 " dence which hath antiently bin between the english and  
 " swedish nations ; but are further willing to enter into a  
 " more strict alliance and union, than hath hitherto bin,  
 " for the good of both ; with such further expressions of  
 " the affections and good wishes of the parlement to the  
 " prosperity of her affayres, as you shall judge requisite.

" You shall, as occasion shall be offered, present to the  
 " said queen the true state of the present differences between  
 " this common-wealth and that of the united provinces.

" If any person shall take upon him the quality of pre-  
 " fident, agent, ambassador, or publique minister there,  
 " from the son of the late king, and indeavor to be received  
 " in that quality, you are to doe your utmost to oppose  
 " and hinder the same ; and if such person shall have had  
 " audience in that quality before your arrivall, you are to  
 " deliver in your protest against the same, at such season  
 " as you shall judge most convenient.

" You are to performe all usuall civilities and correspon-  
 " dencies with the publique ministers of other princes or  
 " states, friends or allies to this common-wealth, who shall  
 " be residing with the said queen of Sweden during your  
 " abode there.

" You shall apply yourselve, as cause shall require, to re-  
 " move all misrepresentations, that are or shall be made by  
 " any whomsoever, of the proceedings of the common-  
 " wealth's

“ wealth’s affayres, and of the parlement ; and shall from 1653.  
 “ time to time, by writing, printing, or otherwise, declare ~~~~~  
 “ the true state therof ; and indeavor the conserving of a Oct. 29.  
 “ good understanding and correspondence between these  
 “ two states.

“ You are to have a due regard during your aboade there,  
 “ to all such matters wherin the trade and commerce of this  
 “ common-wealth and the people thereof are concerned ;  
 “ and to procure right to be done according to justice and  
 “ equity.

“ You are to pursue the present instructions, and such  
 “ as you shall from time to time receive from the parle-  
 “ ment, or councill of state, as either exigencies, neces-  
 “ sities, convenience, or advantages shall require ; and are  
 “ from time to time to give full and frequent notice of your  
 “ proceedings to the parlement, or councill of state esta-  
 “ blished by their authority.

WESTMINSTER,  
 21. Oct. 1653.

“ H E N. S C O B L E, clerke of the  
 “ parlement.”

Of the first four months of Whitelocke’s allowance, 4000 l. was received by him ; and 1500 l. of it, besides the other monies, was layd out in provisions and advance-monies ; the remaining 2000 l. for the first six months was ordered by the councill to be payd, 1000 l. of it att six weeks, and the other 1000 l. att six weeks after that ; and that the time of his monthly allowance was to begin from the day he was approved of by the parlement for that service. Of the remaining money in his hand of his allowance, being 2500 l. he changed 300 l. into gold, the rest into our halfe-crown pieces.

1653. pieces of silver, which are current in Sweden and Germany ;  
 Oct. 29. and these he carried with him in an iron trunke.

In the evening, Whitelocke attended the councell, to take his leave of them, and to know what further service they had to commaund him : the parlement called him in, without attendance of a quarter of an hour ; on the councell he waited an hour before he was admitted ; being come in, the then president, Mr. Strickland, bid him sitt downe, in a chayre sett for him ; and when Whitelocke had told them the occasion of his coming, the president gravely said to him,

“ My Lórd Ambaffador,

“ I am commaunded by the councell to deliver to you  
 “ your private instructions ; and to tell you, that the coun-  
 “ cell hath very much confidence of your fidelity and ability  
 “ for this service, and do hope that God will give you a  
 “ blessing to it : they wish you a very happy and prosperous  
 “ journey, and desire to heare from you as often as you  
 “ can.”

He delivered the instructions to Whitelocke, who, with usuall ceremonies, took his leave : the private instructions were in two papers ; the first paper was this.

“ Instructions for Bullstrode Whitelocke, constable, &c.  
 “ ambassador extraordinary, &c.”

“ Your negotiation being to the queen of Sweden ; when  
 “ you have delivered your credentialls to her, and made  
 “ your generall propositions contained in your instructions  
 “ from the parlement, and find that there is a good recep-  
 “ tion

“ tion thereof, and a propensity in that queen to enter 1653.  
 “ into an alliance with this common-wealth:

Oct. 29.

“ 1. You shall for the matter of that alliance propose the  
 “ articles heerwith delivered to you, either together, or att  
 “ severall times, as you shall find it most convenient ; and  
 “ you have heerby power to alter, amplify, adde unto  
 “ and amend the same, or any of them, holding to the  
 “ substance of them as you in your judgment shall find  
 “ best, and as you can agree them, for the service of the  
 “ common-wealth.

“ 2. If any particular shall be propounded unto you on  
 “ the part of the said queen and crown, for the compleat-  
 “ ing of this alliance, you are heerby authorised to treat  
 “ and debate theruppon ; as also uppon any the articles of  
 “ former treatyes that have bin between the two nations,  
 “ and to conclude the same ; provided they be within the  
 “ articles heerwith delivered to you : if you shall judge them  
 “ otherwise ; then to transmit them to the councell, for  
 “ the parlement's or councell's further direction in these  
 “ particulars.

“ 3. You are to lett that queen know, that you are come  
 “ qualified with powers to communicate with her majesty,  
 “ by what wayes and means to open a free trade through  
 “ the Sound ; that it may not depend uppon the will of the  
 “ king of Denmarke, or the united provinces of the  
 “ Netherlands, when they shall thinke fitt (as now they  
 “ have done) to obstruct it.

“ 4. If you shall find, uppon a generall deliberation  
 “ with the queen concerning the ground and the impor-  
 “ tance thereof to both states, that she is sensible of the op-  
 Vol. I. M pressions



1653. " preffions and restraint which is putt upon trade there,  
 " and that she is inclinable to joine with the parlement for  
 Oct. 29. " removing the same ; you are to lett her knowe, that the  
 " parlement is willing to send into those seas, in fit and con-  
 " venient time, a fleet so considerable, that may be able,  
 " through God's blessing, to defend itselfe against the con-  
 " trary party, who, no question, will joine their strength  
 " for the prosecution of their intentions. And theruppon  
 " are desirous to know what assistance Sweden will con-  
 " tribute for the countenance and carrying on of the under-  
 " taking, so just in itselfe, and so advantageous to both  
 " nations. And in case the queen shall descend to particu-  
 " lars, and make propositions accordingly ; you are to trans-  
 " mitt them to the councill, for the parlement's or coun-  
 " cell's further direction.

" 5. Your lordship is to take care (especially whilst the  
 " treaty is on foot) that nothing be permitted or done di-  
 " rectly or indirectly, so farre as shall lye in your power  
 " to hinder, in favour or assistance of Charles Stuart, or  
 " his party, or abettors.

" Given att Whitehall, the 28th of October, 1653.

" Signed in the name and by order of the  
 " councill of state.

WAL. STRICKLAND, president."

The articles mentioned in these instructions were, in  
 substance, the same with those which were afterwards con-  
 cluded by Whitelocke in his treaty ; saving such alterations  
 and amendments as he judged fitt then to consent unto ;  
 " and

and which were att his comming home, uppon a strict examination, and comparing of them with his instructions, approved, and fully ratified by the protector and his counsell.

1653.  
Oct. 29.

The other paper of private instructions delivered to Whitelocke was this :

“ Lord ambassador, his private instructions concerning  
“ gunnes.

“ Instructions for Bullstrode Whitelocke, constable, &c.  
“ ambassador, &c.

“ For as much as it is conceived requisite, that a quantity of gunnes heerafter mentioned, or so many of them as can be had, should be speedily procured in Sweden, for the service of this common-wealth, viz.

“ 50 cannon, carrying 28 lb. bullet.

“ 100 pieces, carrying 36 lb. bullet.

“ 200 pieces, carrying 24 lb. bullet.

“ 200 pieces, carrying 12 lb. bullet.

“ All of them to be either brasse or copper, and well fortified ; or so many whole culverings, or demiculverings, as may make up the said number.

“ You are, therefore, after your arrivall in Sweden, to employ such trusty person, as you shall thinke fitt, to informe himselfe in the most convenient way, what quantities of brasse or copper gunnes, of the respective dimentions above mentioned, may be there procured, and within what time, and att what rates ; and to con-

1653. “ tract for, and buy, so many of the said number as he  
 { “ can, att the best rates; and the same to ship and send for  
 Oct. 29. “ London with the first opportunity; and as many as can  
 “ be speedily had, by the ships which attend you thither;  
 “ charging bills of exchange on the commissioners of the  
 “ customes, or treasurer of the navy, for payment of the  
 “ monies due on such contracts, within convenient time:  
 “ which bills are to be accordingly paid, comming accom-  
 “ panyed with your advise and approbation. And for the  
 “ better mannaging heerof in point of privacy, and other  
 “ advantages, you are to give the party, so to be employed,  
 “ such instructions as you shall, uppon the place, find most  
 “ conducing to the said service. Given att Whitehall, the  
 “ 28th of October 1653.

“ Signed in the name, and by order of  
 “ councell of state.

“ WAL. STRICKLAND, presidt.”

Whitelocke's returning home with these instruments, and papers, caused much trouble and passion, att the hastning of him away from his sad wife and family, and from his countrey.

30. *The Lord's day.* Whitelocke was att the morning service in the Temple church, where he tooke leave of his friends; he dined att the Cockpitt att the generall's, who treated him with much outward kindnes and civility: he was cheerfull att dinner, and, afterwards tooke Whitelocke into a private roome, where they talked above an hour together; part of their discourse was this.

*Wh.*

*Wh.* My lord, I am to take my leave of your excellence, 1653.  
and probably my last leave; butt while God shall afford <sup>Oct. 30-</sup>  
me life, I assure your excellence, I shall be diligent and  
faithfull in the trust reposed in me.

*Crom.* My lord, if we had had the least suspition of your  
fidelity, you had not bin troubled with this imployment;  
but we have had sufficient experience therof, and of your  
diligence, and abilities: and I doubt not, butt God will  
blesse you, and give you a safe and honourable returne to  
your native countrey; which I heartily wish, and pray for;  
indeed I doe.

*Wh.* I doubt not of your excellence's good wishes, uppon  
whose account chiefly I have undertaken this service; and  
I assure myselfe of the favour and assistance of your excel-  
lence; in any thing that may concerne me in my absence;  
wherin I have two or three humble requests to you.

*Crom.* You shall find me what I have said, a faithfull,  
and affectionate friend to you, both present and absent.  
I pray, lett me knowe, what you would particularly leave  
to my care, and I promise you, I shall not fayle you in any  
thing of concernment to you.

*Wh.* One of my suits is, that if, in my absence, my wife,  
or friends, shall have occasion to attend your excellence  
on my behalfe, that they may have the favour of acceffe to  
you, and your excellence's assistance.

*Crom.* They shall, att any time, be wellcome to me;  
and I shall give order for their admittance, and my best  
furtherance in any matter which shall concerne you.

1653. *Wh.* I humbly thanke your excellence; and doe further  
 {  
 Oct. 30. intreate, that my bills of exchange uppon the councell  
 may be answered, and not delayed: your servant's credit  
 will depend uppon it, and a fayler therin, especially in a  
 forrein country, is a tender thing.

*Crom.* I confesse that is a tender point; and you may be  
 confident, you shall not be fayled nor delayed therin;  
 our credit would be wounded therby. I will take particu-  
 lar care for answearing your bills speedily; nay, I will say  
 more to you, I know your allowance is butt smalle, I wish  
 it had bin more, yett, if I live, I will see that you shall be  
 no looser by this imployment; and though your occasions  
 shall require the expence of more then your allowance, I  
 will see that it shall be paid: butt I would have you to be  
 as good a husband as you can.

*Wh.* I shall not spend extravagantly, butt the honor of  
 the commonwealth, and safety of your servant, requiring  
 it; which I doubt my allowance will not answer.

*Crom.* I will see you shall be no looser; butt honorably  
 recompenced for your service.

*Wh.* I most humbly thanke your excellence, and shall  
 depend uppon your honor; and further intreate, that a  
 constant intelligence may be given me of your affayres heer,  
 wherby I may be inabled to give a full and clear account  
 therof, and have the more repute abroad by it: and your  
 excellence knowes, that full and frequent intelligence  
 gives live to state affayres, especially forrein.

*Crom.* It is necessary your lordship should have a con-  
 stant correspondence and intelligence from hence kept with  
 you,

you, and, for that end, your friend Mr. Thurloe, who is 1653.  
an able and carefull man, shall not fayle you.

Oct. 30.

*Wh.* I shall be very glad of his correspondence ; and since your excellence allowes me this liberty, give me leave to intreate your opinion in some particulars of my instructions. If I find the queen willing to joyne with you, for the gaining of the Sundt, and against the Dutch and Danes, and that heartily and hopefully ; shall I putt on that buifnes to the utmost, and are you willing to enter into such a conjunction ?

*Crom.* If you find them inclinable to it, putt it on as farre as you can, and lett us heare from you, what you judge best to be done in it. No buifnes can be of greater consequence to us, and our trade, wherin the Dutch will endeavour to over-reache us ; and it were good to prevent them, and the Dane, and first to serve our own interest.

*Wh.* I shall give your excellence a clear account of it ; and I believe it will bring the Dutch to reason as soon as any thing ; and that your excellence will not much depend uppon them, or the Dane, butt where their own interest will be served.

*Crom.* We shall freely leave that, and the whole buifnes, to your care and prudent mannaging.

*Wh.* I shall doe the uttmost in my capacity to serve you ; butt must expect to have my actions traduced, and scandalized : butt I hope your excellence will give no credit to whisperings, or officious words, or letters of pickthanks, behind my backe.

*Crom.*

1653. *Crom.* I shall not easily give beliefe to such backbiters, I  
 Oct. 30. hate them; and what I shall be informed of your actions  
 abroad will hardly create in me an ill opinion of them,  
 before I be certified from yourselfe.

*Wh.* It may be your excellence will heare, that I am  
 great with some cavaliers when I am abroad, and that I  
 make much of them; and truly that may well be, I love  
 a civility to all, especially to persons of condition, though  
 ennemies; and have ever used it, and perhaps may use it  
 more then ordinary when I am abroad; and to those of  
 the king's party, and by them I may be the better inabled to  
 secure myselfe, and to understand their designs, which  
 will be no disadvantage to your affayres: nor shall I ever  
 betray those, or any persons by whom I am trusted.

*Crom.* I thinke such a carriage towards them will be pru-  
 dent, and fitt for you to use; and it will never occasion in  
 me, nor I hope in any other sober men, the least jealousy  
 of your faithfullness; butt it may much tend to your secu-  
 rity, and to the good of your buisnes.

*Wh.* I have butt one thing more to trouble your excel-  
 lence with; that is, my humble thanks for all your favours,  
 and, particularly, for the noble present I received from  
 your hand.

*Crom.* I pray, my lord, doe not speake of so poore a  
 thing; if there were opportunity for me to doe honor to  
 your lordship, I assure you, that very few should goe before  
 you.

Their discourse ended, being told that they were ready  
 to goe to the sermon; after which, Whitelocke tooke his  
 leave

leave of Cromwell, who, with all ceremony and complement, parted with him, as also did the rest of the officers then with him, and all of his family and company. 1653. Oct. 31.

Whitelocke came home late; and found his wife and friends full of sadness and trouble at the thoughts of his speedy departure from them.

The councill, uppon Whitelocke's desire, ordered a motion to be made to the parlement, that Mr. Hagget might, by them, be appointed to serve as deputy recorder for Whitelocke at Bristoll, in his absence; which the house ordered accordingly.

The councill also ordered, the master of the state's barges to provide barges for Whitelocke and his company, to transport them to Gravesend.

Whitelocke visited Lagerfeldt to take his leave of him, and found him in much passion, that he could not gett his dispatch; earnestly labouring to be gone before Whitelocke, and that he might be with the queen before Whitelocke's coming to her majesty. Whitelocke also visited Bonnele, to take his leave of him: and amongst other discourse gott from Bonnele, a character of most of the grandees, and persons in favour in the queen of Sweden's court; and how they stood affected to this common-wealth, and what were the most probable means and ways, and who were the most likely persons, by whom Whitelocke might bring his business to a happy and desired issue.



## NOVEMBER.

1653. **T**HE councill sent to Whitelocke to hasten him away. He had much trouble about the two hired ships, the Fortune, and the Adventure, which could not be gott ready to fall downe to the frigotts: the provisions and baggage was putt on board the Fortune neer Blackewall; the hay and oates was on board the Adventure att Gravesend, whither Whitelocke had sent his coach and horses before.

Novemb.  
1.

2. Most of Whitelocke's trunckes and followers went downe this day to the Hope, where his ships lay, and his goods were on board them, only the Fortune was not yett fallen downe; of which he had an account by letters from his steward; and had the lesse trouble in these matters, which he referred to his officers: and they were the more carefull, bicause he tooke a constant account of their actions.

3. All things now being in a readines, Whitelocke's servants and goods on board the ships, and his going urged by the councill, he must take his leave (and as most judged it, his last leave) of his dearest relations.

His tender and loving wife trembles att the thoughts of it; his sweet and deare children hang upon him, pray him not to goe from them, joyne in tears with their disconsolate mother; and some of them motherlesse before, are frighted with an apprehension that they are shortly to become fatherlesse also. All of them, chiefly those of more years, sufficiently sensible of their expected misery.

Two

Two of them, his eldest sons, he taketh with him; ten more, and most of them little ones, are left behind, adding tears and griefe to their comfortless mother; between whom, and her perplexed husband, some of their parting broken discourse is remembered.

1653.  
Nov. 3.

*Wife.* My dearest love, I would ~~fine~~ speake to you, butt tears will not suffer me; lett them speake for me; and tell you, you ought not to leave me: for, if I cannot, yett, how, because, then, if you will, how can your heart butt be melted towards me and these poore children?

*Wh.* I prithee take more commaund over thy passion; our present friends, as well as ourselves, will be troubled att it, and it can doe neither thee nor me, nor our children good.

*Wife.* No, that's my misery; I can doe no good by it, yett what I say, if I could prevayle with you, would be, I thinke, I hope, the greatest good that this world can afforde us; to me I am sure it would be so.

*Wh.* Consider what is best for us all, and lett not passions have too much power over us. God knowes I leave thee with as sad a heart as ever husband parted with, from a most loving wife.

*Wife.* O then, why will you goe? lett me conjure you, by all my tears, by all loves, by the pledges of them, by marryage promises and affections, not to leave me, especially att this time, when the pangs of travayle are coming uppon me: alas, what is it I desire, butt a little time and strength to inable me to beare you company, and in daunger to take part with you!

N 2

*Wh.*

1653. *Wh.* I am neither in a capacity to stay, nor you to goe:  
 Nov. 3. *you* know the necessity on me; I must goe, and goe presently.

*Wife.* Oh, my deare, you must not goe, you ought not to goe presently, and leave me in this condition: if I were able, I would freely goe with you; butt to goe without me, now, when, can you be forced to it? How have I offended you? How have these poor children displeased you? Can you find in your heart to leave us, and cast us off to misery? I beg of you not to doe it, sure, I hope, you will not do it.

*Wh.* Thou knowest my ingagement to goe, and wert privy and consenting to it; and it was your good moved me to it; and were it not too late, I could freely retire, and satisfy thy earnest request heerin.

*Wife.* This request can never be too late; our children's good, my life, your own life, is concerned, that you should not goe; and lett me prevayle with you not to leave us.

*Wh.* If I goe, I confesse my life is in daunger; if now I doe not goe, my life (it may be) is in more daunger: those who have engaged me will not be baffled by me; they have the power, lett us have the prudence and temper to submit to that which we cannot well avoyde, and which, probably, will be most for all our good.

*Wife.* I can say no more; butt if it be too late, if you must goe, though I cannot goe with you, yett my prayers shall goe with you, that the Lord may preserve you, and bring you back agayne in safety: and when you shall returne (as I hope you will) if you find me gone, gone out  
 of

of this vale of tears and sorrow, yett remember me as a faithfull wife, as one that truly loved you and yours; and remember these little ones; be kind to them for my sake, and for their own sakes, who, I hope, will never offend you, nor be undutiful to you: this is my last request, and I hope will be graunted by you.

1653.

Nov. 3.

*Wh.* These are piercing words, and enough (if it could be) to make me alter my resolution; butt it is too late, and God is all sufficient: I doubt not butt he will preserve me in my journey, and bring me backe agayne in safety, to a joyfull and comfortable meeting with thee and all my children.

*Wife.* The Lord, if it be his blessed will, graunt us this mercy, who is indeed all-sufficient, and abounding in goodness; butt we deserve it not; and it must be more than ordinary mercy, if we ever see the faces of each other agayne.

With that word, floods of teares stopped her further speaking; and the company called uppon Whitelocke to hasten away, telling him, the wind and tide would stay for no man, butt would be lost, if he did not speedily come away; that all was ready, and they now only stayed for him: he was therefore forced to breake away.

He went to the Tower wharfe, where the states barges attend him, multitudes of people crowding about him; he enters the barge of ten oares; with him were major generall Reynolds and some other officers of the army, his brothers-in-law, his sons, and some of his gentlemen; the rest were in four other barges provided for them.

When

1653. When he putt off from shoare, the Tower saluted him  
 ~~~~~ with eleven pieces of ordinance ; as he passed by the ships  
 Nov. 3. of warre in the river, they gave him the like respect of
 their great gunnes ; so did the fort at the Hope.

He went directly to the Phoenix frigott riding in that road, whose captain Foster received him with as much honor as he could expresse ; his pennons all hung out, his waistclothes to the cabbin doore, and he fired twenty-one gunnes for his welcome : his men were in good order, and seemed stout and able marriners ; the captain and officers not inferiour to any of the sea commaunders ; the ship as well built and fitted for sayling and fight as any in the fleet : heer were fourteen cabbins for his company, of whom he left some in her to prepare against his returne to them.

From thence he visited the Elizabeth frigott, whose captain Minnes wellcomed him with his gunnes, and all ensignes of respect as Foster did, and sett out thirteen cabbins for his gentlemen : heer also Whitelocke-left some of his company, and in his returne to Gravesend, the martiners of the Elizabeth gave a great shoute, and were answered by those of the Phoenix, to testify their being pleased with the ambassador's being on board of them, and with the voyage.

In his way, the men of warre saluted him with their gunnes ; and particularly and unexpectedly a Holland frigott, which lately brought over their ambassador, and now wore her white flagge (though both common-wealths were now in actuall warre) yett she saluted Whitelocke with three gunnes as he passed by her.

Berkman met him att Gravesend, so did most of his company ; where he caused the best provisions that could be had

to be made for them ; himsele lay at a private house, Mr. 1653.
Woodcoke's, who civilly treated him.

Nov. 3.

Two of Whitelocke's ships not being yett fallen downe, after he had given out his orders for all things to be ready, he returned backe to London, and had a darke and daungerous passage ; butt God preserved him : he came about eight a'clocke att night to his brother Willson's house, to see his sad wife once more, and to comfort her, who was much surprised and pleased with his unexpected comming, and kindness, to stay with her rather than att Gravesend, till the wind should be fayre, and all his ships be ready.

4.

He kept his retorne as private as he could, that the councell might not have notice of it : yett now he mett with objections from some, that he ought not to leave his country and relations to goe into the northern parts of Europe in the midst of winter, to putt to sea in the midst of stormes and enemies ; to forsake these dearest relations and fixed comforts ; to passe over the raging billows of the rough northerne and easterne seas ; to transport his aged sickly body eight degrees to the northward of the place of his birth and habitation, about affayres made up of difficulty and incertainty.

Butt most of these objections had bin more seasonably made, and answered formerly : he was now ingaged, and told by no meane persons, that the peace with the Dutch, the safety of the common-wealth, the good of the protestant interest, depends uppon his going.

Cromwell, who commaunds in chiefe, earnestly intreats (that is, requires) his speedy departure ; the councell urge it, and alledge that the publique interest and affayres will not

1653. not dispenſe with his longer ſtay ; he had taken poſſeſſion
 Nov. 4. of his ſhips, made all his preparations and proviſions, and
 now to object againſt his going, was ſomewhat too late : yett
 this ſhort time of his preſent ſtay, he enjoyes the beſt of
 ſociety, with his wife and children and neareſt of his
 friends and relations.

His wife was now in leſſe paſſion then before, hoping that
 God would be pleaſed to make her husband instrumentall
 to advance his honor, for which, ſhe and his friends putt up
 their hearty and conſtant prayers to the Almighty ; and then
 they acknowledged that they ſhould rejoyce in his journey,
 and not doubt butt that God would reſtore him to all theſe
 relations and comforts, with the addition of the fullfilling
 his gracious promiſes to thoſe that deſire to ſerve him.

- 5- Whitelocke heard that the Fortune was fallen downe, and
 now the wind was come fayre for his voyage ; therefore he
 muſt agayne leave his deare wife and relations : and al-
 though ſhe reſtrained her paſſion as much as poſſibly ſhe
 could, yett no creature ever ſhewed a more perplexed
 grieved condition than ſhe did att parting with him ; when
 ſome of their diſcourſe was this.

Wife. I have one thing more earneſtly to beg of you,
 which is, that you would make it your chiefeſt care, to honor
 God in all your actions ; and to watch over yourſelfe and
 all your company, that none of you diſhonor him ; and
 often pray to him for his bleſſing uppon you and them, and
 on us whom you leave behind ; which will be the beſt way
 to enlarge our hopes of a happy meeting agayne, which I
 ſhall dayly pray for.

Wh. I

Wh. I looke uppon this as my duety, and thanke you
for putting me in mind of it. I hope I shall not be want-
ing in my prayers to God, for his protection and blessing,
both on you that stay, and on us that travayle; and that
he will not give us over to dishonor him, which I shall be
most carefull to prevent, both in myselfe and in every one
of my company; and I presume you are assured that had it
not bin the hopes of doing some honor to the name of God
by this my undertaking and hazard, I should scarce have
bin perswaded to have undergone it.

Wife. I know, and am glad that this was the chiefe motive that perswaded you to it, and which prevayled with me, for giving such consent as I did therunto ; and by this we both may have the more peace and satisfaction in our own hearts, and the more hopes of the blessing of God uppon it. I shall speake butt this more, and I pray God that it be not my last word to you ; that for my sake, and for our poor childrens sake, you would have a speciall care of your own health, and not to hazard your person in any daunger.

Wh. My owne conscience and duety to you and my children, and to my buisnes, ingageth me to this care ; and I shall promise thee to take speciall care of my health, and not to hazard my person unnecessarily : and I pray God to keep you and all our children, and to blesse you, and to give us in his due time a meeting agayne with comfort and safety.

Wife. The Lord graunt it, if it be his blessed will, and goe along with you in all your way.

Then tears agayne concluded their discourfe ; her sighing, weeping, trembling, shrieking, were testimonies of her sad
VOL. I. O troubled

1653. troubled mind ; nor was her husband without his share of
 Nov. 5. much anxiety : butt they must part.

In his passage by water, his secretary Earle only attended him ; he overtook the Fortune, and himselfe gave her charge to hasten to the Hope, which she did accordingly.

He came to Gravesend about three a'clocke in the afternoone, and finding his horses not shipped, though it were so late ; and the master of the Adventure not willing to take the horses on board that night ; yett because the wind was fayre, and not high, Whitelocke ordered all his horses to be shipped that evening, which he saw done, above thirty horses hoysed on board in lesse than four howres time, though most of them were stoned horses, and very unquiet : the gentleman of his horse tooke great paynes and care in the doing of it.

6. *The Lord's Day.* The wind was fayre, and all things ready, and no opportunity must be lost ; therefore, about two howers before high water, Whitelocke ordered all his people to goe on board : a light-horse-man, and some with him in the ship boate, they went directly to the Hope, where the ships attending his coming were,

1. The Phoenix frigott, a man of war, carrying forty-four gunnes, one of the best ships for sayling and for fighting in Europe ; in her were two hundred seamen well chosen, and well commaunded ; in her went Whitelocke and his sons, his chapleins, Dr. Whistler, and most of the gentlemen, and the women.

2. The Elizabeth frigott, with forty gunnes, store of ammunition, two hundred marriners ; and in her went more of the gentlemen.

3. The Adventure, a merchantman, hyred and fitted 1653.
 as a stable for Whitelocke's horses, which were in her, with
 provisions for them; the yeoman of the stable, the coach-
 men, postillions, groomes, lacquays, and others, were on
 board of her. Nov. 6.

4. The Fortune, a merchantman, hyred; she carryed
 the baggage and provisions; and in her went his steward,
 and some gentlemen, those of the kitchen, buttery, and
 and other inferior servants.

5. A stout private man of warre, commaunded by captain
 Welch, a bold fighting seaman; he had eighty men of his
 own temper, about tenn great gunnes, and sufficient store
 of smalle shott, and of armes and weapons on board her.

6. A catch of the states, appointed to waite on White-
 locke, and to be in readines to carry intelligence, or doe
 other service as he should commaund her.

As soon as Whitelocke came on board the Phœnix, he
 desired captain Foster to send for the captains and officers
 of the other ships to come on board him; and they being
 come, Whitelocke spake to them on the deckes, to this
 effect.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It hath pleased God to bring us together att this time,
 “ in order to a voyage to the north; and the councell of
 “ state have thought fitt to intrust me with the commaund
 “ of these ships, and consequently of you and your men
 “ under you, as I suppose you understand by the orders of
 “ your generalls att sea; and I take the liberty to tell you,

O 2

“ that

1653. " that I expect the same obedience to my orders, as if your
 Nov. 6. " generalls gave them : but withall, I shall lett you know,
 " that my commaunds will not be rigid or supercilious, butt
 " with love and kindnes, as to my countrymen, friends,
 " and fellow seamen.

" I confesse my want of knowledge in sea affayres ; yett
 " this is not my first voyage ; and I shall be glad to have
 " my lacke of experience supplied by yours, and be will-
 " ing to be informed by the meanest marriner ; and shall
 " give a due regard to the advice of you who are the officers,
 " and of so much ability and experience as you are, and
 " whose reason may satisfy mine in our debates and coun-
 " fells.

" Our voyage (my noble countrymen) is not like to be
 " without daungers ; I hope your spirits will be the more
 " raysed : the perils of this season, of storms and tempests,
 " are no strangers to you ; no more are those of our enne-
 " mies, the Dutch and Danes, whom you have mett with
 " before this time, and were wont to wish to see them. I
 " assure myselfe they are now more desired than feared by
 " you.

" I shall freely adventure my life with you ; and if we
 " looke up to God, pray for his protection and blessing,
 " and trust in him, willing chearfully to serve our countrey,
 " we shall have no cause to feare our ennemies, or to doubt,
 " butt that God will goe along with us, and blesse us in
 " our way ; and bring us back agayne in safety to our na-
 " tive countrey and relations.

" I shall from time to time acquaint you with my orders
 " by captain Foster ; from whom, I pray you to receive
 " them,

“ them, and to observe them ; and so, my countrey-men, 1653.
 “ God send us a good voyage.”

Nov. 6.

The seamen cast up their caps and shouted, and seemed well pleased.

Then Whitelocke ledde the officers into his cabbin, and advised with them as a councill of warre about the voyage ; and the wind being then fayre, west and by north, they agreed, that it was fitt to weigh anchor and to sett sayle presently : and Whitelocke ordered the same to be done accordingly.

Uppon advice, he likewise ordered the Phoenix to carry her flagge in the main top, after the order of the sea, Whitelocke being on board her, an ambassador extraordinary, and commaunder in chiefe of the ships with him.

He also ordered their sayling to be in this manner : the Phoenix to be in the vanne, the Adventure and Fortune after her, the Elizabeth in the reare, captain Welch on the one flanke, and the Catch on the other, to scout out, and to discover ennemies ; and they and the Elizabeth to keep in the merchantmen (who were slowe saylers, and apt to lagge) within their company.

Other orders he gave about their firing, anchoring, weighing, sayling, and the like ; that the Phoenix should carry the lanthorne ; that every morning each ship should come up to Whitelocke, that he might be informed of their condition, and then to fall into their order againe ; and he appointed his captain Foster to receive all orders from Whitelocke, and to give them to the rest of the officers of the fleet.

He

1653. He ordered prayers to be constantly twice a-day, morning and evening, upon the deckes in fayre weather, other times in the steerage roome. He ordered none to take tobacco butt behind the maine mast, where a tubbe of water was sett to blow their coales into it, and to prevent the daunger of fire; divers other orders he made for regulating the seamen and his company.

Nov. 6.

The wind being fayre, and a fresh gayle, and all the ships having weighed anchor, they hoyfed sayle, and committed themselves to the protection of him who commaunds the waves, and affords his preservation there, as well as on drye land, to them that trust in him.

By the evening they had sayled as farre as the Boay in the Nowre, in the Thames-mouth; which is placed there to give warning to ships to avoyde the Nowre sands; and, is of late, the more taken notice of, by that sharpe sea-fight between the English and Dutch in this place, where the gallant sea commaunder, Deane, with many other brave Englishmen, lost their lives in defence of their cuntry.

It is in the fight of Queenborough-castle, in the Isle of Shepey, so called from the abundance of sheep fedde there, The castle was built by E. 3. (as he writes in his patent) "to the terror of his ennemyes, and solace of his friends;" unto which castle he adjoynd a towne or borough, and, in honor of his queen, called it Queenborough.

After the evening sermon, the wind, which had bin very fayre all that day, chopt about to the north, and was quite contrary to his course; so that Whitelocke caused them there to lett fall their anchors.

Att

Att the Boay in the Nowre, God was pleased to commaund Whitelocke's stay, to make him pertaker of a greater mercy, the earlier notice of his wife's being brought to bed; who, the same day that her husband sett sayle to goe from her, was delivered of a son: a hard time to be hurried away from her!

1653.

Nov. 7.

Her friends, with her, presently procured two bold watermen to undertake to carry letters of this good news to Whitelocke, hoping to overtake him; they rowed all night by the shoares side, till they came over against the ships; butt by reason of the largenes, and roughnes of the water, could not come to them with their wherry; therefore, the watermen made fires on the shoare, the custome of giving notice that an expresse was come: the marryners, used to such fires, sent out a boate, and fetched the watermen on board the Phoenix. Some of the gentlemen hearing the good newes, knocked hastily att Whitelocke's cabbin doore, caused him to awake with some doubt, least any thing might be amisse; and, agayne, with a hope, that an expresse might be come to stay his voyage for a time, that he might see his wife and friends agayne by this opportunity: butt the letters were from his brother Willson and Mr. Cokaine; and, in them, the good newes of his wife's safe delivery of a son did exceedingly comfort him, and caused him to consider, and thankfully acknowledge the circumstances of this mercy and providence.

1. That God was not pleased to permit him to be with his wife when she was in extreamity, which was so much desired; and yett was pleased to give her a safe delivery, to shew that God is better then all relations, and only to be depended on, as a ready help in time of trouble.

2. As

1653. 2. As his letters informed, that his wife was brought
 Nov. 7. to-bed the very hower when the congregation, of which she
 was a member, were in prayer together for her safe deli-
 very; and then this gracious returne of their prayers was
 vouchsafed.

3. That God was pleased to cause the wind suddainly to
 change, whereby Whitelocke was inforced to stay his
 course that night, otherwise he had gone too farre for the
 watermen to have come att him with the letters.

4. That if he had not bin stayed heer, and by that means
 received these letters now, he could not, in ordinary course,
 have heard the newes in a moneth after; butt, by this stay,
 this comfortable newes was received by them, and it made
 their voyage much the more cheerfull.

5. That as soon as Whitelocke had written anfwears to
 these letters, and dispatched and rewarded the watermen,
 the wind instantly came about againe very fayre to proceed
 in his voyage.

Wheruppon Whitelocke commaunded to fire a gunne for
 warning to weigh anchor, which was done by day-breake;
 and the wind continuing fayre, Whitelocke had a good
 course, and ran this day about twenty-five leagues; so that
 they bid adieu to the coast of England, their most deare
 and native countrey.

8. In the night, the frigotts were faine to tow the baggage
 ships, whose slowe sayling much hindered the voyage. The
 wind blew high, and the night was very tempestuous; yett
 Whitelocke slept soundly, till about midnight, by the break-
 ing in sunder of the great cable by which his ship towed
 the

the Adventure, so terrible a cracke and noise was made, 1653.
 that it awakened all that were asleepe with affrightment, and Nov. 8.
 indaungered the ship.

She carryed two lanthornes, for better direction of the rest of the ships, who rolled and tossed very much all night, and were in great daunger. The Fortune proved very slowe and troublesome; the Elizabeth, att this time, was not well fitted, nor fleet in sayling. Whitelocke stayed for them, lowering his sayles, and judged it no time for his ships to sever neer an ennemies coast, and in the midst of stormes; butt ordered all to keep neer together, and be in readines to relieve one another: and notwithstanding the hinderances, and fowle weather, they ran a course this night of about thirty leagues.

By sun-rising, they espyed some sayles a farre off, on head of them; Whitelocke spreadde all his sayles to fetch them up; the Phoenix ran with an incredible fleetnes: the strange ships made away from him, Whitelocke pursued, and when he came within distance, fired the chase pieces att them, to warne them to strike sayle. One stricke, and came to leeward of Whitelocke; and the wind driving him to sterne, whilest Whitelocke's boate was hoyling out to fetch the Dutch skipper on board to him, the Dutchman seeing his advantage, the wind for him, and Whitelocke's men buisy, he hoyled all his sayles, and gott clear away from Whitelocke: att which affront captain Foster was very angry, and prayed leave to chase the Dutchman againe. Whitelocke gave way to fire some gunnes after him, butt to little purpose, he being gott so farre away; and before Whitelocke could tack about to pursue him, he would be gone too farre to be overtaken, without too much hinderance of his course: so Whitelocke wished his captain to be patient,

1653. and beare this smalle affront; which he could not helpe;
Nov. 8. and to lett the Dutchman goe for his ingenuity, butt to prevent being served so againe.

The other Dutch ship made away as fast as she could; butt Whitelocke overtooke her, and made severall shots att her, yett she would not strike sayle, till Whitelocke shott through her tackle; seeing which torne, and that Whitelocke was in earnest, the Dutchman came to leeward and struck: and Whitelocke's lieutenant fetched the Dutch skipper on board to Whitelocke, in his cabbin, who there examined him; divers of the gentlemen and marriners crowding in to heare it, wherof this was part:

Wh. Skipper, whence art thou?

Sk. A Flushingier.

Wh. What brought you to sea this weather?

Sk. My trade; though the weather be fowle, we must fish, or our wives and children must starve.

Wh. Hast thou a wife and children?

Sk. I hope I have a wife and seven children.

Wh. What right have you to fish in these seas?

Sk. I thought any one might fish in the broad sea.

Wh. Not without leave of those who have the dominion of those seas.

Sk.

Sk. I know not who have the dominion of the sea, butt 1653.
they that have the best fleet. I have been thirty years a ^{Nov. 8.}
fisherman, and never yett asked leave.

Wh. Indeed a good fleet is the best argument for the dominion of the seas ; butt though you never asked leave to fish on the seas of our common-wealth, your predecessors have asked leave to fish heer.

Sk. My father and grandfather were fishers on these seas, butt I never heard them say they asked leave.

Wh. It may be so ; butt others have.

Sk. I must not contradict you.

Wh. Thou maist freely speake to me.

Sk. No, I thanke you, I know to whom I speake.

Wh. Dost thou know me ?

Sk. I thinke you are the English ambassador for Sweden.

Wh. Why dost thou thinke so ?

Sk. Bicause you carry your flagge in the maine-top ; and some of your men told me so.

Wh. What doe they say in your countrey of my going to Sweden ?

Sk. Our lords don't like it ; butt their subjects thinke you doe wisely to gett the Swedes for friends.

1653. *Wh.* We must seek new friends, when our old ones
Nov. 8. *for*sake us, and make warre uppon us, as your lords doe.

Sk. We poor men give our lords no thanks for it; I
am sure we are sufferers by it.

Wh. Why then is it continued?

Sk. Bicause it is the pleasure of our lords; butt they are
sufficiently curst for it.

Wh. God sayes, you must not speake evill of your rulers.

Sk. And God sayes, our rulers must not doe evill.

Wh. God will punish them if they doe evill.

Sk. And man will punish them also: I am sure you have
done it.

Wh. And what did you, when you revolted from your
king?

Sk. These things are too high for me; I will not speake
of them.

Wh. What doe your people say of the English ambassa-
dor, tell me truely?

Sk. They say, he is a very honest gentleman, and a fitt
man for such a buisnes, and one that loves peace, and is
likely to doe his worke.

Wh. Now I see you know to whome you speake.

Sk.

Sk. I should say the same behind your backe, for I have often heard it sayd by others.

1653.
Nov. 8.

Wh. It seems then that your people are not pleased with the war against England.

Sk. They are much displeased att it, and their losses by it are very great, and our trade decays; so that it will be the wisest way for our lords to make a peace with you: if they doe not, few will fight for them, in their ships, in this quarrell.

Wh. Hast thou served them in this warre?

Sk. I never fought against the English in this warre, nor never will; and more are of my mind.

Wh. Thou sayest honestly, and shalt fare the better.

Sk. We are neighbours, and both are now commonwealths, and we should sticke close to one another.

Wh. And we both professe one religion, doe we not?

Sk. There is much talke of your different religions in England.

Wh. You have as many different religions in Amsterdam.

Sk. As long as they will be quiet, I know no reason butt every one may worship God as he thinkes best for his own soule.

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* I thinke thou art very right ; and your countrey
Nov. 8. hath prosperd the better for giving this liberty.

Sk. I thinke God blessing them for it ; and I think a peace with England would please God better, then this shedding of christian blood.

Wh. Dost not thou say this to please me, or be thy neighbours of this opinion as thou art ?

Sk. I speake it not to please you ; and ten for one are of my opinion.

Wh. My masters have not bin backward for a peace with you.

Sk. Our lords understand not the buisnes so well as you.

Wh. Your lords are wise enough.

Sk. I am sure they are not wise in having this war with England.

Wh. What men of warre have you abroad this way, tell me freely ?

Sk. Our men of warre have suffered a huge losse, by the other dayes storme, which, I believe, you felt ; five of our ships were then cast away upon our own shore.

Wh. That was a great losse ; butt prithee tell me what convoyes you have abroad this way ?

Sk.

Sk. Three or fower of our men of warre lye not farre of, 1653.
which were sent out to guard us, and you see how well Nov. 8.
they doe it.

Wh. Why doe they not keep neerer to you?

Sk. They have no great mind to come neer you, where
they know they can gett nothing butt blowes.

Wh. Butt their duety and honor bind them to guard
you.

Sk. Honor will buy no butter; and they hold it no
duety of theirs to hazard themselves and their ships against
you.

Wh. They cannot tell whither we will fight or not till
they trye us.

Sk. They know your frigotts can fight; and you doe
not looke as if you would runne away.

Wh. Dost thou know by our lookes that we will fight?

Sk. One may guesse; I am fure you know how to handle
your gunnes, I have felt that.

Wh. Why then did you not come in sooner to me, butt
stood out so many shotts?

Sk. Bicause I hoped to have gott away from you; and
my ship was never before out-fayled.

1653. *Wh.* Then you judge my ship to be fleet.

Nov. 8.

Sk. She is the fleetest that I ever saw under-sayle. O she is a gallant vessell, so is your other frigott, and the rest are good ships.

Wh. I see you like well the make of our english frigotts.

Sk. For the buisnes of the war they are, without doubt, of the rarest mould that ever was built before.

Wh. I know they are not so good for your use of marchandize.

Sk. We must have them somewhat bigger bellyes than they carry.

Wh. Else they will carry butt a smalle quantity of goods.

Sk. I have few goods left me to carry, God help me.

Wh. Well, skipper, thou seemest to be an honest man, and to love the English, and thou sayest thou hast a wife and seven children; therefore, I shall doe more for thee than thou expectest: thou shalt have thy ship agayne.

Sk. What did you say, sir? shall I have my ship agayne?

Wh. Yes, skipper, thou shalt have thy ship agayne. Captain Foster, give order that the ship be restored to the poor man.

Sk. Sir, your men took a world of goods when they boarded me; if I might have them too.

Wh.

Wh. Skipper, thou shalt have them too. Captain, I pray
 see that your men restore both ship and goods, whatsoever
 they have taken from this poor man. 1653.
Nov. 8.

Capt. Your excellencies commaund shall be obeyed.

Sk. Shall I have my ship and all my goods agayne too?

Wh. I have past my word; and thou shalt have them all
 agayne, thou maiest be sure of it.

Sk. Now the Lord bleffe thy excellence; I and my wife
 and children will pray for thee as long wee live. What!
 have all againe, when I expected not a penny-worth of them;
 there was never such an ambassador uppon these seas. Now,
 I pray God bleffe thee, and bleffe thy wife and children, and
 bleffe the buisnes thou goest about!

Then the poor skipper, who was before in a great sweat
 and fright, and tears trickling downe his cheekes, reaching
 over the table, took Whitelocke by the hand, and shaked
 it heartily, often praying to God to bleffe him and his.
 Whitelocke calling for wine, drank to the poore man to
 comfort him, and spake to him thus.

“ *Wh.* Skipper, when thou comest home, remember my
 “ service to your lords, and tell them what I say, that I
 “ bid you tell them that the english ambassador came not
 “ to pillage their subjects, butt showed kindness to you,
 “ and caused your ship and all your goods to be restored
 “ agayne to you, though he tooke them lawfull prize, and
 “ you resisted him; and tell your lords from me, that I
 “ hope they and their people will use my countrymen, when
 “ any of them shall fall into their hands, as kindly as I
 Vol. I. Q “ have

1653. " have used thee ; and that I doe heartily wish there may
 ~~~~~  
 Nov. 8. " be a good peace between the two common-wealths."

" Sk. My lord, If it please God I live and come well  
 " home againe, as I hope in God I shall, I will goe to the  
 " lords, and deliver your message to them, and lett them  
 " fully know your goodnes to me ; and I shall acquaint  
 " good store of my neighbours with your noble carriage  
 " towards me : and I pray to God with all my heart to  
 " blesse you, and to give you a safe and happy voyage."

The Skipper went away a joyful man, and had his ship  
 and all his goods to a penny-worth restored to him, which  
 he said he wondered at, they having bin, as he called it,  
 in hucksters hands ; and in token of his thankfullness, he  
 sent back by Whitelocke's men a holland cheese and a great  
 bottle of brandy wine for a present to Whitelocke. Butt he  
 believing the poor man to have more need of it than himselfe,  
 who was no lover either of that meat or drinke, Whitelocke  
 sent them back agayne, with his hearty thanks to the skip-  
 per for his love ; who (as Whitelocke was afterwards inform-  
 ed) did sufficiently publish the kindnes of the english am-  
 bassador to him, and that to as many of the lords as he could  
 speake with, as well as to his neighbours and countrey men ;  
 so that Monsieur Lagerfeldt passing that way by land home-  
 wards, was informed of it for newes, and asked Whitelocke  
 (when they mett) about it.

This was done by Whitelocke uppon designe to create  
 the better opinion of him and his superiors, and the more  
 averfenes to the war in the inferiour sort of people of that  
 countrey, and to amuse the lords the more by this action  
 uppon

uppon his going for Sweden ; and the passages are the more particularly remembered for the variety, and to show the subtlety of these kind of people ; and that even from them (as from all sorts of men) somewhat as to these publique affayres may be learned, and use made thereof.

1653.  
Nov. 8.

Most of Whitelocke's men were very sea-sicke, only himselfe and three or fewer more held well ; the Catch was lost, or ranne home for feare of the weather : the wind came into the north-east, so that Whitelocke could make no way in his course, but was forced to steere back towards the coast of England.

A great dutch ship (as they supposed) a man of warre, hovered within sight of Whitelocke this day ; butt when Whitelocke came towards her, she made away from him, and would by no meanes come nearer to him, having gott the advantage by the wind and distance to keepe off from him.

All the last night the sea continued extreame rough, and the weather full of raine and stormes, so that the ships (especially the merchantmen) were in great daunger of being founderd in the sea. 9.

The wind continued flatt and high against Whitelocke's course ; who theruppon in the morning consulted with the captaine, master, and pilotes of his ship what was best for them to doe.

The officers were all of the opinion, that there was great daunger of their being driven uppon the coast of Holland, where so lately they lost some of their owne men of warre, when the stormes were much like those wherein Whitelocke

1653. now was, and the wind in the same quarter; they were also  
 Nov. 9. of opinion, that the merchantmen of his fleet were in extreme daunger to be lost in these great stormes; and that (as the wind fate) it was impossible to hold on their course for Gothenbergh: upon these reasons, and by the advice of the officers and many of Whitelocke's people being extreame sick, he ordered to direct their course to Yermouth, or some port thereabouts in England, that, if possible, they might reach sight of the english coast before night; which they indeavoured, till about noone, then the wind weared about to west south west, whereuppon they stood on agayne in their course for Gothenbergh.

Divers strange fishes showed themselves playing and tumbling in the waters; the fowle flew about disturbed with the stormes; the firmament powred downe water, and thicke cloudes darkened it. A great number of fishermen were abroad, very industrious, and gaining out of these seas a vast commodity and profit by their fishing.

They have small territories, little land of their own; yett, by their industry and navigation in trade, and fishing, they gaine vast treasures.

Cambden writing thereof, notes what an extraordinary plentifull, and gainfull herring fishing the Hollanders and Zealanders use to have in the neighbouring sea, having first obtained leave from the castle of Scarborough, according to the antient custome.

Then he blames his countrymen (not undeservedly) who ever grant leave to fish, butt through a kind of negligence, resigning the profit to strangers; for it is almost incredible  
 (saith

(saith he) what a vast some of money the Hollanders make by fishing on our coasts.

1653.

Nov. 9.

Hitchcocke, in his booke presented to the parlement in queen Elizabeth's days, writes, that the Hollanders and Zealanders every year send forth 400 or 500 vessells, called Buffes, to fish for herrings in this easterne sea.

Sir John Boroughs, in his treatise of the sovereignty of the British seas, computes the number of their ships and vessells imployed about the fishing trade, to be 6400; their mariners and fishermen hereckons to the number of 168,000; their publique revenue out of fishing, he accounts to neer a million yearly; and the private wealth gained by it, he estimates yearly to 10,000,000 of our pounds sterling out of their trade of fishing in our seas.

Whither his calculation be exact or not, will not be necessary to cast up. Doubtles the profit of this fishing trade, gained by these Netherlanders on the British seas, is very huge and vast; and it may not improperly be said of them, as is prophesied of the tribes of Zebulon and Issachar, in the blessing pronounced by Moses upon them, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 19. "They shall sucke of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sands."

These stormes drove the fishermen home agayne; nor would Whitelocke looke after them, nor neglect his course to follow them, butt tooke the best care he could for defence of his selfe, being now in the midst of enemies, who would neglect no opportunity they could meet with to destroy him.

All

1653. All this day stood aloofe from him a great ship, making  
 Nov. 9. all the sayle she could to the windward of him, and (as Whitelocke's men supposed) she had other companions of the dutch convoyes not farre off from her; as they could discover by the perspective, she was the same ship they saw yesterday: but neither then nor now, in the day time, would come neer to Whitelocke, and he would not permit his ships to goe out of their due course to follow this Dutchman, who still kept the advantage of being to windward of Whitelocke, and so lay off still from him.

Whitelocke doubting least the designe of the Dutch men of warre now abroad for convoyes, (whereof he supposed this great ship to be one) might be in the night time to intercept one of his baggage ships; he renewed his orders, that the Adventure and Fortune should sayle in the lee or sterne of the Phoenix, and the Elizabeth and captain Welch to keepe in the sterne of the baggage ships, to be close together to relieve and assist one another as there should be occasion.

In this order they sayled in their course; butt the wind comming about more to the north, and being in the evening due west, and west north west, they had butt bare wind enough to hold on their course, butt they could not gaine or advance much way in it.

10. The wind continued all night full against Whitelocke's course; so that they toyled all the darke night in the rough seas and contrary winds, the ships rowling and tossing very much, and were in great daunger; yett could they not gayne any way att all in their intended course.

Towards

Towards breake of day the wind slackened ; all the ships <sup>1653.</sup> were neer together, butt advanced little or nothing in their <sup>Nov. 10.</sup> course : the Dutch man of warre was gott quite off from them ; the wind in twelve howres came about into almost all the points of the compasse ; it continued most of all against them. Butt the day proved very fayre, more like the season of May than of November, and so little wind stirring, that the ships made no way at all, and the seas were as calme as att any time in summer, wherwithe the sick men were a little refreshed ; butt payed for it agayne afterwards. Whitelocke in person visited and cheered the sicke men, and saw that they should want nothing wherwith the ship could supply them ; and he caused his other ships to come up to him, that he might inquire of their wellfare ; and spake to them particularly and cheerfully uppon the deckes.

Att high noone they tooke the elevation, and found that they were in the degree fifty-four and odde minuits, by which observation they were come butt a third part of their voyage in six dayes ; Gothenbergh being in the degree fifty-seven and odde minuits, and London in the degree fifty-two.

Having thus traversed up and down the wide and rough seas ; about four a'clocke this afternoon the wind came to south east, and blew a fresh gale fayre for their course : and heer it was propounded to Whitelocke, and chiefly urged by the gentlemen who were sicke, that Whitelocke, with the Phoenix, would make all the sayle he could to fetch his port ; and leave the Elizabeth and Welch to stay for and bring up the other ships after him.

The grounds of their advice were : " For that the present  
" wind was so fayre and large, that it was pittie, and might  
" prove

1653. " prove dangerous to loose it by staying for the other  
 Nov. 10. " ships; that his ship was so fleet, that with this wind in  
 " a short time she would recover Gothenbergh; whereas,  
 " if she stayed for the rest, the wind might change, and  
 " Whitelocke perhaps be kept a long time in dangerous  
 " and tempestuous weather, as they had bin already, from  
 " their desired port, which in such weather and season  
 " they were not to neglect the attayning of it."

Whitelocke answered them, " That if he should doe as  
 " they counselled, that yett no advantage would be thereby  
 " gained in their course; bicause, if the wind should hold  
 " where it was, yett they could not reach butt to the Riffe  
 " against the Skaw by the next night, where they must lye  
 " still at anchor, for the daunger of sayling neer to that  
 " coast; and by the morning after, the whole fleet together  
 " might come up to the same place, and in one day after  
 " (wind and weather favouring) might gett from the Riffe  
 " to Gothenbergh: besides this, Whitelocke told them, he  
 " could not answear the leaving any of his ships behind,  
 " being all under his charge, and among ennemies; and in  
 " case of mischiefe to any of them, he might be questioned  
 " for leaving them.

" Chieflly, he insisted on the point of honor, not to for-  
 " sake any of his ships, and leave them to the mercy of  
 " stormes and enemies, and not being with them to relieve  
 " them, especially when he knew that there were enemies  
 " abroad; but he was resolved to run the same hazard  
 " with them."

Captain Foster and the officers of his ship were of the  
 same judgment; bicause it might extremely hazard the For-  
 tune and Adventure, being so neer the enemies coast, and  
 they

they might founder in a storme for want of help ; and the Elizabeth would be in great daunger in regard of the stormes and of our ennemies, who watched for an opportunity to fall upon them, and perchance they might be forced back to England ; but Whitelocke would not indure the reflection and dishonor of such an action.

1653.

Nov. 10.

Upon this resolution of Whitelocke's, his fleet went on in their course all together in their usuall order ; and from four a'clock in the afternoon till eight at night, the wind blew large and fayre, and they ran in that watch about six leagues, and began to come somewhat neer to the continent, towards the coast of Denmarke.

From eight a'clock till twelve the last night, Whitelocke's fleet could not make above four leagues in their course, the wind in that time coming about more than it was, into the north and east ; and after twelve a'clock at night it was full against them ; so that they could gaine very little or nothing in their course.

12.

In the morning the sun rose very gloriously, and it was a fayre day and even sea, more like a day in June than in November, and so little wind stirring, that they could hardly make any way at all : when the sun was full south they tooke their obliervation of the latitude, and by the seamens instruments they found, that from yesterday at noon till this time, they had not run above sixteen leagues.

Att four a'clock in the afternoon, the wind blew more fresh, butt from north east, full against them ; yett they kept on, labouring in the high sea, and traversing up and downe to and againe, as much as they could to the northward, which was butt very little.

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1653. In the evening, before the setting of the watch, was the usual time of prayer in Whitelocke's ships; and both his chapleins having been sick the three last days, one Percall, a kind of master's mate, in his marriners habit, an elderly man, prayed before Whitelocke and his company (as he had done the three last days) very well and honestly, much beyond expectation, God having bestowed on him extraordinary gifts in praying and expounding the scripture; and it were pittie (especially att such a time and place) that they should be hid and not exercised: though the man might want a cassake and silk girdle, the modesty, sobriety, meeknes, good fence, and pious words of the man, made Whitelocke very willing att this time to joyne with this marriner's prayers.


Nov. 11.

In the evening, the other ships came up to Whitelocke, who inquired of them how they all did; they lamentably complained of extreame sea-sicknes, and daungers of the stormes they had bin in; butt Whitelocke was cheerfull with them, and encouraged them the best he could.

He sent his boate to visit the Adventure, and bring his steward on board to him, who gave Whitelocke an account of their desperate sea-sicknes and frights with the tempestuous weather, and strange tossing and rowling of the Fortune; but Whitelocke drolled with them, and sent his steward encouraged back to his company, being glade they were all in safety.

He visited particularly the sick men in his ship, and commanded that they should want nothing; and his kindnes to them, and his familiarity and freedome with the seamen was well taken, both by land-men and marriners.

Captain

Captain Welch came up to Whitelocke, and saluted him 1653.  
 with some gunnes, and sent him a present of some potts of  
 conserves, bottles of english small beer, and a swedish   
 cheese; Whitelocke (as he used) did drolle with him, and Nov. 11.  
 returned thanks himselfe, and by his gunnes.

This fayre day brought divers fishermen abroad; and  
 when Whitelocke came by any of them, they strucke sayle,  
 butt he would not goe out of his course to them, nor trouble  
 them.

About nine a'clock the last night, the wind came about 12.  
 to the south west, and within an hower it grew extreame  
 high and rough, butt fayre for their course all that night;  
 so that they ran this night about sixteen leagues, though the  
 Phoenix had only her fore-top-sayle half spred, bicause of  
 staying for the other ships; butt if she had made all her  
 sayles, probably she might have reached Gothenbergh by  
 the next night, she being able (by the seamens confession)  
 with that wind, to have sayled fifteen or sixteen leagues a  
 watch, which is four howers.

In the morning early, it was againe proposed for White-  
 locke to take the advantage of the wind, and to make all  
 the way he could to gett to Gothenbergh; butt himselfe, his  
 captain, and officers were against it, uppon the reasons be-  
 fore mentioned: and Whitelocke was resolved not to leave  
 any of his ships in daunger, butt to run the same fortune  
 and hazards with them.

He was forced to goe a slow pace to stay for his baggage  
 ships, to the great regret of his sick people: towards noon  
 the wind came about more to the north west; yett so as he  
 kept on his course, though he gained not much way. The

R 2

wind.

1653. wind was so violently high, and those northerne seas so exceeding rough and breaking, that much water came into the ships, and they had much to doe to worke it out att sea.

Nov. 12.

In the evening the Adventure came by Whitelocke, to give him an account of her company ; she sayled a-head of Whitelocke, and did not returne to her place agayne. More Hollanders were fishing uppon these seas ; butt they saw no english fishermen abroad.

13. About twelve a'clock the last night the wind began to fall, and blew so little, that they could hardly make any way in their course. Early in the morning the Adventure was missed, by getting some two leagues to the leeward of Whitelocke, who soon sought her out, and reproved her master for his indiscreet going before the last night ; and this was also some hindrance in looking after her.

About eight in the morning, by sounding, they found themselves in great daunger ; Whitelocke's ship was within halfe a fadome of the sand, and made fowle water by striking as she passed over the Riffe, which is a long bank of sand, comming from the head of Jutland in Denmarke into the maine sea.

And heer agayne the Lord was pleased to preserve Whitelocke and his company from immediate daungers of the sands, and of the very high and rough northern seas, which frightened many of his men ; but he encouraged them the best he could.

The wind being fallen, yett he kept on his course, though butt slowly, and was hindred by the distance of the other ships

ships from him ; and the Adventure keeping on head of 1653. Whitelocke, and carrying the lanthorne contrary to orders, and the custome of the sea, was by Whitelocke reprehended for it. Nov. 13

The Phoenix, which was most in daunger of the sands and ennemies, ran only with part of her maine-top-sayle spread, and no more, to the end the other ships might come in to her, and keep with her, and to avoyd coming uppon the danish coast of Jutland, which is very daungerous, especially in the night time ; yett heer they maintaine lights for the direction of ships. Whitelocke did forbear to acquaint his people, that about this place the last year, a gallant english frigott was cast away, and her men lost.

This being the *Lord's day*, Mr. de la Marche preached in the forenoon, very well, and the seamen were attentive to him ; there were butt two of Whitelocke's company present at the sermon, the rest being sick in their cabbins.

In the afternoon Mr. Percall, one of the ship's company, and in his marriner's habit, preached a very honest and good sermon, and much beyond what might be expected from him. The wind continued low till about noon, and then came into west south-west ; towards evening it increased to a fresh gale, and about seven a'clock it blew hard. Whitelocke kept on his course, though much hindered by the heavynes of the other ships ; and in all this way in constant great daunger of the sands, his pilots having brought him too farre upon the Riffe, from which (through the goodnes of God) they got off well agayne.

About midnight the Phoenix furled her sayles and went on drift, not willing to adventure any further in her course 14.  
- this

1653. this darke night, for feare of the coast; the sea grew very  
 ~~~~~ raging, with sharp stormes, the wind exceeding high, and  
 Nov. 14. much raine; the ships being on drift rowled much more
 then att other times, sufficiently affrighting some of the
 company, who solemnly repented, that they had left good
 colledges, and kind mothers and friends, full and whole-
 some dyet, and safety on firm land, to come to stinking
 water, salt and bad meat boyled in it, such as they could
 not eate; from good beds, and warme chambers, to cold
 close cabbins, and to be dashed all over with water; for
 security on shoare, to be lost in the deep sea.

When the ship lay low with the storme on one side, they
 counselled to remove all the trunks to the other side to
 keep her even; they suspected the seamen, being under the
 decks, had deserted their work, and given over the ship
 for lost, and no hopes of her.

One more especially, thus lamentably complained; and
 that the ship was never quiet, butt continually rowling and
 tossing up and down; that the steersman would not, or
 could not, keep her upright, nor her mariners remove one
 trunk to keep her even; that they had not a drop of any
 water butt stunke; and att their meales, with sorry dyet,
 the meate was often throwne of from the table into their
 laps; that they were wett over their bootes; and the seas
 were so rude and boisterous, that they had not a moment
 wherein they did not expect to be devoured by the waves;
 and it was comfort to this gentleman, that his master was
 in no better condition: butt it was much mirth to his
 master, and the rest of his company, in their great perills;
 and is heer inserted for diversions sake.

The

The captain of the Phoenix was up all night, being full of care and vigilance to doe his duty. Whitelocke himselfe was ill of his supper of egges, which is bad dyet att sea; he rose about three a'clock in the morning, and afterwards slept foundly on the boardes. 1653.
Nov. 14.

Hoping that they were neer the coast, Whitelocke promised a bottle of sack to the marryner who should first descrye land, which carryed many of them to the top and top-gallant; and about eight a'clock in the morning there were so many descryers of land, that all Whitelocke's bottles would not suffice to keep his word; about nine a'clock he saw land himselfe, being the coast of Jutland in Denmarke.

With this good newes he went to his sick people to comfort them; he drolled with them, especially with the complainants, cheered them the best way he could, took part with them of the stinking water, and bad dyet; and encouraged them from the sight of land, and as having now butt a little while longer to be in their sick cabbins, and with their bad intertainment.

The wind was very fayre, west south-west; butt they could make butt little way, Whitelocke being faine to furl his maine sayle, and stay for the other ships; butt espying a sayle to the leeward of them, Whitelocke spred all his sayles, and, in lesse then an hower, overtook her, and, upon fying at her, she strooke sayle; Whitelocke bore up to her, and finding her to be a merchantman of Stockeholme, lett her passe freely.

About three in the afternoon they came to the head of the Skaw, in passing about which sand, they tacked so


1653. short, that they had butt three fathome and a quarter
 ~~~~~ water, and the ship drew two fathome and a halfe ; and  
 Nov. 14. heer (as throughout the voyage) God was pleased mercifully  
 to preserve them from imminent and great daunger.

When they were got on the weather side of this sand, Whitelocke cast anchor ; the Adventure came in to an anchor with him, so did Welch, butt the Fortune and Elizabeth were lost of them. The Elizabeth fell in chace of a dutch ship, which she could not master, till she had shot down one of the Hollander's sayles, then she took her, though she were an excellent sayler, and had good guns. From her skipper they understood, that the late great storme drove eighteen of the dutch men of warre on shoare, and split most of them ; and that 4000 dead carkasses of their men floated to the Holland shore : the more did God's goodnes appear to Whitelocke and his company, in their preservation in the same storme.

This rencounter made the Elizabeth and Fortune to lose Whitelocke, and in great stormes and daunger to trye it out att sea.

15. After Whitelocke had cast anchor, within two howers the wind grew to a very raging storme ; and it was so violent, that the seamen doubted their cables, and feared to be driven uppon the coast, which was no smalle daunger ; the ships, as they lay, tossed and rowled so vehemently, that both old and young seamen had cause enough to be affrayd of their present condition : butt Whitelocke encouraged them the best he could, and perswaded them to putt their confidence in him who could still the raging of the seas when he pleased.

About

About midnight the wind and tempest began to cease, 1653.  
 and blow north-west, sayre for Gothenberg; att which   
 Whitelocke cheered his company; and he had gott much Nov. 15.  
 into their affection, and into the favour of the officers and  
 marriners by his kindnes and familiarity, and by being  
 much on the deckes, and drolling with them, and dis-  
 coursing; especially by affording them now-and-then a  
 dowse in the neck, or a kick, in jeast, seeing them play;  
 and then giving them some of his own tobacco, wine, and  
 strong waters, as there was occasion: which demeanors  
 please those kind of people.

About four a'clocke in the morning, Whitelocke com-  
 manded to fire two guns, for warning to his ships to  
 weigh anchor and sayle with him; and about six a'clock  
 he was under sayle, though much troubled to weigh his  
 anchor, the same having dragged that night, by the violence  
 of the stormes, about a league from the place in which it  
 was lett fall; and the anchor of the Adventure was so  
 fastened, that they were five howers in weighing of it, nor  
 could they then have done it, without great help, wherin  
 Welch and his lusty fellowes did good service.

These two ships followed Whitelocke to the coast of  
*Norway*, to the *Pater Noster Rockes*, so called for that the  
 dreadfullnes of them putts the passengers in mind of saying  
 their prayers; and surely that coast, and countrey, being  
 full of huge, tall, craggy, numberless company of rockes,  
 especially att that time of the year, and scarce any thing  
 else to be seen, yielded a prospect full enough of dread and  
 terror.

Their stories of *monstrous fishes* in this sea, some in the  
 shape of *gyants*, rising to the top of the water, and com-  
 ming



1653. ming to a ship's side, and snatching men away from the  
 ~~~~~ decks to the bottom of the sea; with their multitudes of  
 Nov. 15. *witches*, and other dismall relations, neither perswade
 much credit, nor readines to goe thither to inquire the
 truth of them.

The wind being fayre and large, Whitelocke hastened, and
 came, by twelve a'clock att noon (blessed be God) in safety
 to the port of Gothenbergh; having no pilot from the
 shoare, as ships usually have, butt his own pilot adventured
 (and it was adventure enough) and by the goodnes of
 God, brought him safely into their long desired harbor.

Welch and the Adventure followed Whitelocke, and
 getting pilots from the shoare, where they watch to be im-
 ployed, they also (through God's goodnes) arrived safely
 in the same port; and so did the Elizabeth and the For-
 tune, with their dutch prize, the same day, following White-
 locke thither.

And although the dayes before, every one of his ships
 was scattered, and gone from him, by the terrible stormes;
 and this day he came in himselfe alone to this harbour:
 yett it pleased God, that heer every one of his ships came
 in the same day to him; to the rejoycing of them all, in
 the goodnes of their guide.

Att Whitelocke's first comming thither he found two
 english men of war there, who had bin sent a convoy to
 some marchantmen; these expressed much joy att White-
 locke's arrivall, saluting him by their cannon, and by the
 shouts and acclamations of their men.

Being

Being come into the brade water, Whitelocke lett fall his anchor, about cannon shot from the castle; butt would not come neerer to it. He saluted the castle with eleven guns, and a little moving his flagge, and putting it up agayne; the castle made no returne to him; yett Whitelocke sent some of his people, who spake dutch, and Mr. Berkman, who came with Whitelocke all his voyage; he now went with Whitelocke's servants to the castle, to salute the governor, and lett him know, that Whitelocke was come thither ambassador from England to the queen of Sweden; wherof he thought fitt to give the governor notice: butt they not finding him in the castle, mett with him in the town, and there delivered their message to him; who returned a civill answer, that he was glad of the ambassador's safe arrivall, and if he pleased to come to the town the next day, that the governor would send boates to attend him, and be ready to give him intertainment with all due respect.

1653.
Nov. 15.

Whitelocke sent for the officers, and all the gentlemen in the other ships, to come on board to him; where they went to prayers together, to returne thanks to their most gracious God, who had, in so much mercy, preserved them in so many and imminent daungers, and to bring all of them in safety and comfort to their desired harbour.

Having sent some of his servants before to the towne, to make provisions for his coming thither; he was earnestly intreated, by his gentlemen and people, to goe on shoare that night, and to dispence with the ceremonies of his reception att the towne, which might be performed after his landing. Whitelocke pittied them, being extreame sick, and weather-beaten att sea, and their provisions and spirits almost spent; he yielded to their request, and, in the even-

1653. ing, he, and most of his company, tooke the ship boates
 Nov. 15. to goe on shoare. As they passed by, the castle saluted
 him with two guns, and no more; the like did the men of
 war, and marchantmen in the river: wherof he inquiring
 the reason, was informed, that their constant custome was,
 and a strict commaund uppon them, to give butt two guns
 uppon any occasion, which they call a Swedes leasing;
 and the example for saving of powder may providently be
 followed.

Att his landing, he was received by a tall man in redde
 clothes, whom they then termed the major of the town
 forces; who was very civill, and conducted Whitelocke to
 his inne, hard by, through a multitude of spectators.

Shortly after his being landed; there came to visit him
 the landtshere, or landtzheued; that is, the lord or head of
 the land, or territory, who is governor of the town, and
 of a precinct about it; he was accompanied by lieutenant
 collonell Singlere, a Scotsman, who interpreted for him to
 this effect:

“ The landtzhere prayes you to excuse your not being
 “ received with that solemnity which was fitt, bicause they
 “ did not expect him comming till to-morrow morning;
 “ butt you are heartily wellcome: and it is the queen’s
 “ pleasure, that all respect be given to you; which the
 “ landtzhere is ready to performe, and to serve you in any
 “ thing within his power.”

Whitelocke returned thanks for the queen’s favour, and
 for the landtzhere’s civility; and spake in english, bicause
 the landtzhere spake in swedish. After him came Martin
 Thyssen, the queen’s vice admiral, a dutchman, to bid
 White-

Whitelocke wellcome; who wondered att his compliments, 1653. in falling then into discourse about the war between Eng-
land and Holland, magnifying the actions and successes of the Dutch, and undervaluing the English: butt he was roundly answered by Whitelocke, and told, that such were the successes of the Dutch, that the English, in this war, had taken 1200 dutch ships, and not lost 100 english ships, and had worsted them in every ingagment. Nov. 15.

With this, Martin Thyssen seemed much displeased, and afterwards complained to some, that Whitelocke had disparaged the dutch nation; Whitelocke answered, that Thyssen, being a Dutchman, began the discourse, and disparaged the English, which he could not, nor would not beare; and, after this, Thyssen discoursed no more on that subject.

Collonel Nerne, a scottman, who commanded the regiment of foot in the town, gave Whitelocke a visit, and some complements.

Whitelocke's goods could not be permitted to be brought on shoare to him this night; it being the order of this town, that in the evening they shutt the *Boome*, which is a great barre of timber, so sett, that it may easily be moved forward and backward; and locked: it is brought cross the place in the river left for passage, and being shutt, all passage is stopped by water; and they will not open it till the morning, for the safety of the town, and preventing stealing of custome.

Whitelocke sent to have it opened for his goods to passe; butt it was not done, which he tooke ill; and the landtzhere afterwards excused, that he knew not of his sending, to have it opened.

1653. Towards night, thirty soldiers were sent to Whitelocke's lodging to keep guard there, wherat Whitelocke took exception, not being first acquainted with it, and, by his condition, priviledged from such things to be imposed on him: butt the landtzhere and Berkman alleadged it to be a custome, and constant respect in this countrey, where any soldiers were, to send some as guards to ambassadors; wherewith Whitelocke was satisfied, and the soldiers were quiet and civill; commending the english ambassador's hospitality, such as they were not accustomed to; and thankfully accepting the meate, and drinke, and money, which the ambassador gave them; the expectation wherof by them was some motive to this their respect.

Nov. 15.

16. Berkman posted away early to the court, to give the queen notice of Whitelocke's arrivall; and, about nine a'clock, came an officer from the magistrates of the city to Whitelocke, to know if he were at leisure to give them leave to waite on him; and, was answered, that they should be wellcome whensoever they pleased to come: within an hower came to him to his inne, the three *presidents*, who are the principal *magistrates* of the town, with the *syndick*, who is in nature of *recorder*, and twelve, called assistants.

Whitelocke being come forth to them in the outer roome, after salutations, the first president made a sett speech in

* For the latin to this effect *:

original
see appen-
dix A.

" Most excellent lord ambassador,

" The city of Gothenbergh, whose servants we are,
" doe, by us, salute your excellence, and congratulate
" your safe arrivall att this place, to which you are most
" wellcome.

" They

“ They intreate your excellence to excuse the manner
 “ of your reception heer; they doe acknowledge, that
 “ heerin they have not demeaned themselves as was requi-
 “ site towards so great a person, and of such condition
 “ as you are: all things were unsuitable to a negotiation
 “ from the free common-wealth of England, and to the
 “ commaund of our most serene queen; and were farre
 “ otherwise then was agreeable to the intention and desire
 “ of this citty.

1653:
 Nov. 16.

“ The suddain and unlooked-for comming of your ex-
 “ cellence, from your ship, did prevent all due offices;
 “ yett they hope, and intreate your excellence, that you
 “ will not take it in ill part; and doe assure you, that as
 “ long as you shall be pleased to make your residence in
 “ this citty, what commaunds your excellence shall im-
 “ pose uppon us, we shall observe, and not be wanting in
 “ all honor and respect towards the free common-wealth
 “ of England, and the affayres wherwith your excellence
 “ is trusted: and they doe heerin with their own happi-
 “ nes, when they wish into your excellence all prosperity
 “ and good successe in the buisnes committed to your care
 “ and charge.”

The president delivered this with a gracefull mienne,
 and many ceremonies, bowing himselfe when he named the
 queen, or the common-wealth, or the ambassador.

After a little pause, and saluting them, Whitelocke an-
 swered in latin to this effect * :

* See ap-
 pendix B.

“ Most honord gentlemen,

“ I give you many thankses, for that by this civility and
 “ respect to me (their servant) you manifest the esteem
 “ you

1653. " you have for the common-wealth of England, wherof I
 Nov. 16. " shall not fayle to certefy my superiors.

" And I doe not doubt, butt that my reception heer
 " had bin anfwearable to your expreffions, had not my
 " unexpected arrivall prevented it ; for which I defire your
 " excufe to thofe who having bin long att fea, tossed with
 " many tempefts, and contrary winds, had an earneft de-
 " fire to come on shoare. And I fhall hope, in a fhort
 " time, to have the opportunity of giving thanks to her
 " majefty, for her commaunds as to my reception. I
 " doubt not butt that the good and great God, who hath
 " brought me and my company fafe to this honorable city,
 " and preferved us in our daungerous voyage, will ftill
 " goe along with us, and vouchfafe his gracious fucceffe
 " to the buifnes committed to my truft, and to all other
 " the affayres of the common-wealth of England."

After this, they fell into generall difcourfes in latin,
 which moft of them, and the fyndick, fpake very well, and
 which is not ufual for burgers elfewhere : they offered
 their fervice for Whitelocke's accomodation heer, and in his
 land journey, and took their leaves with much ceremony
 and civility. Whitelocke brought them to the doore of the
 inae where he lodged.

Some of his officers and gentlemen were appointed by
 Whitelocke to confider of fome orders, and prefent them to
 him, for the better regulating, and government of his fa-
 mily.

In the afternoon he was vifited by collonel Sinclere, of
 whom he learnt the number, pay, and difcipline of their
 foldiers heer, and the manner of their fortifications.

This

This day his tronkes and goods could not be brought on shoare, by reason of the ill weather. In the evening, about ^{1653.} twenty men and boyes, with lanthornes and candles, came ^{Nov. 16.} to Whitelocke's lodging, and sang in parts, with indifferent good skill and voyces; they were choristers, and their musick such as they had in their churches: the end was a reward of eight ricks dollars.

The rest of Whitelocke's goods were brought on shoare ^{17.} to the town, being butt three miles from the ships; and his horses were lifted on shoare; and which was wondered at, after so long and tempestuous a voyage, not one of thirty-two horses was spoyled, lame, or hurt, when they came on shoare.

The goods in the Fortune being mostly provisions, Whitelocke intended to have sent by sea to Stockholme; butt by advice of the magistrates of Gothenbergh, that it would not be so cheape nor secure, as to send them by land; and that the frost being come, if it should hold, the goods could not be brought by sea to Stockholme till the next spring: Whitelocke ordered them also to be brought on shoare.

Amongst all his people, after so long and dangerous a sea voyage, and so much sea-sicknes (such was the wonderfull goodnes of God) that now being come together, not one of them was ill, or had the least hurt. Whitelocke held it his, and their duty, to returne all thankfullnes to God for his mercy and preservation; and, for that end, appointed all his people to meet the next morning at his lodging, to keep it a day of thanksgiving for his mercy.

The syndick came courteously to Whitelocke to know if he wanted any thing, wherein he might serve him; he was

1653. a civill person, and spake good latin and french: Whitelocke was courteous to him att dinner, and, in the afternoon, sent doctor Whistler, Mr. Ingelo, and Mr. de la Marche, with the syndick, to the chiefe president, to thank him and the rest of the magistrates for their respects; and to advise with them about his land journey, and the conveyance of his goods to Stockholme.

Nov. 17.

Whitelocke thought fitt to send two of his own servants, Andrew Potley, and Meredith (who both spake good high dutch, which is generally understood in Sweden) with letters to prince Adolphe, grand master of Sweden, the prince Palatins brother, and other letters to the ricks chanceller Oxenstierne, to this purpose * :

* See appendix, C.

The english of the letter was this :

To his Highnes the Great Master of the Kingdome of Sweden.

“ Most illustrious sir,

“ According to the commaunds which I have received
 “ from the parlement of the common-wealth of England,
 “ to performe an ambassy to your most serene queen; I
 “ have att length arrived att Gothenbergh, where I hoped
 “ to have met her majesty, from a relation in England, by
 “ a creditable person, given unto me; butt being disap-
 “ pointed of my hopes, and not knowing whither to bend
 “ my course for the performance of my charge, I held it
 “ fitt, by my servant, with these letters to certify your
 “ highnes heerof, that you might be pleased to gratify me
 “ with a signification of the place, whither I may repayre
 “ to

“ to make my applications to the most serene queen, for 1653.
 “ the discharge of the commission and office of

Nov. 17.

“ your highnes most addicted,

Gothenburgh,
 Nov. 16th,
 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The like letters he sent to the ricks chancellor, changing the title of excellence for highness; and this night he gave them to his servants, with his instructions, to deliver them to which of these lords they should find att court, or first meet with.

The house where Whitelocke lay was a common *cruise* or *inne*, inferior to our ordinary innes in England; the house was meanly furnished, not any hangings or wainscot, butt bare walles in the best chambers; yett excellent in comparision of what they found in other places.

Whitelocke's lodging was between two feather beddes, after the fashion of that countrey, which is light and warme; butt not so pleasing to Englishmen, who are not accustomed to it, as their rugges and blankets on them.

In most of their roomes and chambers is a *chimney* and a *stove*, either of which may be made use of; butt Whitelocke found the stoves close and suffocating, and not so sweet as the chimnyes, which he only used.

The chimnyes are built high from the hearth to the mantle-tree, neer twice as high as those in England, and are broad and sloping on either side; a little above the mantle-tree, where the tunnell growes narrow, is sett a

1653. plate of iron, so as it may be shutt crosse the tunnell to
 Nov. 17. stop it, and opened by a string on the outside of the chimney; the use of it is, that when the fire is burnt to coales, and no smoake left, then they thrust in the iron plate crosse the tunnell of the chimney, the which stops it, that no aier can come downe, nor heate ascend up out of the chimney, butt strikes the heate out into the roome; which much increaseth the warmeth of the roome, and causeth it to last the longer.

The manner of their making *fires* is not as with us, on andirons, they having none of these, nor fire-shovells, tongues, bellows, or the like; butt their wood being cleft into stickes of firre, like our stackewood, butt shorter and more cleft; they sett a good many of those stickes up on end, in the chimney, uppon a little strawe, and that being sett on fire kindles, and makes a good fire presently: and this way is generally used by them.

Their provision of *dyett* is plentiful enough, butt of no great variety either for fish or fowle, and their beefe and mutton is very leane; in the winter, which was now begun, if it was made the better by Whitelocke's cookes dressing of it; and the best intertainment that he found, was what he brought with him, good english beere, and meale, butter, cheefe, baken-meates, spanish and french wine, and divers good provisions: and his field-bed he chose to lye in rather than between two of their beds.

18. The landtzhere sent a man of his owne to be a guide to Potley and Meredith, and to take order for horses and accommodations for them in their journey to court, whither Whitelocke sent them; so full of courtesy were the officers and people to Whitelocke in this place. Vice admirall Thyssen

Thyſen came to colonell Potley, and deſired him to acquaint his lord, that many complaints were brought to the vice admiral againſt one of Whitelocke's captaines, captain Welch, about his viſiting of ſhips comming neer, and to, this port; and that he being one of Whitelocke's fleet, the vice admiral would proceed no otherwiſe in this buiſnes, butt (out of reſpect to the english ambaffador) to deſire him to take courſe to prevent it: and Whitelocke thought fitt to doe ſo, by a direction to captain Foſter, to be by him communicated to captain Welch; and it was obeyed.

1653.
Nov. 18.

The military officers in this town gave a great reſpect to Whitelocke; colonell Nerne, lieutenant colonell Sinclere, the town major, and others, came to accompany him to ſee the fortifications, and view the town. He went forth with them, and now (as att other times) was attended with about forty of his gentlemen, his lacquayes, and other of his people, all with their ſwords by their ſides; and the gentlemen going bare before him in the towne, the inhabitants, as they paſſed by, ſhewed great civility and reſpect to Whitelocke; who was not backward to anſwear them in the ſame manner.

Att their returne, Whitelocke ſtayed the collonel and officers att dinner with him, where was his captain Foſter, and others, and much diſcourſe about the affayres and warre between England and Holland; butt Whitelocke did not declare himſelfe freely in that buiſnes and company: and he and his people, by his admonition, were careful to avoyd any reflection, nor would Whitelocke beare it.

Captain Foſter deſired Whitelocke's licence for his departure with the Elizabeth and the other ſhips for England, bicauſe

1653, because the frost was begunne, and perhaps might lock them up all the winter, if they did not take the first opportunity to sayle; which Whitelocke willingly gave them leave to do, and prepared his dispatches, and ordered them to be a convoy to those english ships which were now going from hence with pitch, tarre, hempe, and masts for the states use in England.

Nov. 18.

Att parting with his fellow seamen, Whitelocke gave to captain Foster a silver basin and ewer, of the value of 20 l. and sent 10 l. to the officers of his ship, and 10 l. more to the marriners. To captain Minnes he gave a silver tankard of 10 l. value, and 10 l. to his ship's company. To the seamen of the Adventure he sent 40 s. and ordered the holland ship which was taken by Minnes, to be sold heer, except her guns, and those to be carryed for England; butt the vessell would have bin troublesome in the voyage.

The syndick acquainted Whitelocke, that he was appointed by the presidents to attend Whitelocke in his journey to Upsala, to see that he should want no accomodations in the way; which was kindly taken by Whitelocke, who received now, and constantly during his stay heer, many testimonies of civility and respect from the governors and people of this city; and among the rest, this day the town sent him a present of a hoghead of rhenish wine, with some fresh fish, and a civill complement.

19. This day Whitelocke sett a-part for a day of thanksgiving to God, for his wonderfull mercy and preservation of him and his company in their dangerous sea voyage, and his safe arrivall heer: and his people having received some refreshment on shoare, and being now come together att his lodging.

Mr. Ingelo began the duty of the day, and acquainted them with the occasion of the meeting; then Mr. Stapleton prayed and returned humble and hearty thanks to God for his mercy: after he had prayed, Mr. Ingelo preached an excellent sermon, and very seasonable for the occasion: after they had done, Whitelocke himselfe spake to the company to this effect:

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ You all have great cause to returne humble and hearty thanks to God for his goodnes to you, and for your preservation in our daungerous sea voyage: butt I have more cause to returne thankfullnes to God than any of you, I might say then all of you have, for I am engaged to the goodnes of our God in respect of you all, who have taken part with me in our daungers, and in whose good or ill I am concerned as father of the family, whereof you all are children.

“ The duty of this relation causeth my speaking to you at this time.

“ Before you began this voyage, it pleased God to putt it into our hearts to seek him for his blessing uppon it, and he hath bin gratioously found of us, and vouchsafed such a returne of our prayers, wherby he hath given us our lives for a prey, and hath appeared to be our God and our preservation.

“ I hope we are all convinced that it is equally our duty to give thanks to our God for his mercyes received, which is the way to be partakers of more; if we be not weary of seeking him, he will not be weary of helping us.

“ This

1653. " This is God's buisnes and our own, as Seneca divinely
 Nov. 19. " faith; he who teacheth gratitude, acts the buisnes of
 " gods and men.

" Those gentlemen who have already spoken to you on
 " this occasion, have piously and learnedly exhorted us as
 " to the inward man, out of the word of God, what per-
 " tains to this duty of thanksgiving.

" My part is as to the outward man, to indeavor that
 " there be a practise answerable to the precepts of it. We
 " have offered in our own countrey our petitionary sacrifices,
 " and God hath gratioously heard us; lett us not be want-
 " ing in a strange land, whither he has safely brought us,
 " in our eucharisticall sacrifices; lett us with Noah build an
 " altar to God, and offer up our prayers to him, who hath
 " preserved us in the midst of the great floods, when we
 " heard of very many of our neighbours drowned: we have
 " great cause to magnify his name.

" The Hebrew for prayse signifies to offer a gift: what
 " gift are we to offer to God? the psalmist cxix. 7, 8. in-
 " structs us; I will prayse thee with uprightnes of heart,
 " I will keep thy statutes: this is the way of praying God,
 " by uprightnes of heart, by keeping his statutes, by living
 " answerable to our mercyes.

" Lett our thanksgivings be after the latin phrase, gratias
 " agere, to doe thanksgivings to our God, which is the
 " most pleasing sacrifice; and that we may the better doe
 " this, I have (according to what I esteem my duty) re-
 " solved uppon some orders for the better government of
 " my family, wherunto I shall expect a strict conformity;
 " and keep my word with you, I shall not connive att any
 " breach

“breach of them; it will be to the honor of God and our 1653.
 “country, to your good and mine, that they be carefully
 “observed by you; and that none may pretend ignorance ^{Nov. 19.}
 “of them, you shall heare them now published.”

Then Whitelocke caused Mr. Stapleton to read before
 all the company the insuing orders :

“ 1. That none doe sweare, or curse, or blaspheme, or
 “take the name of God in vaine.

“ 2. That none be overseen in drink, and to this end,
 “that they neither begin nor pledge healths.

“ 3. That all doe observe the times of prayer and pub-
 “lique worship, which, besides the Lord’s days, will be
 “twice every day in the family. And that they pretend
 “no excuse, either for absence or late comming to those
 “exercises.

“ 4. That none revile, quarrell with, or give reprochfull
 “language to another, but all to behave themselves in-
 “offensively.

“ 5. That none stay out late in the evenings, after six
 “a’clock, upon any pretence whatever, without leave
 “from his excellence, or his steward, or those appointed
 “by him to take care of the government of the family.

“ 6. That none offer any abuse in words or actions to
 “any of his country, or of any other nation, butt be
 “carefull to give no just cause of offence or scandall to
 “strangers, or to our religion; nor to affront any, which
 “may occasion any quarrell or disturbance.

1653. " 7. If any offend against any of these orders, after admonition given him, he is to expect no other, butt a dismissal from his excellency's family."
 Nov. 19.

Besides these orders, Whitelocke made others that were not read, touching the attendance of his servants in their severall charges, and concerning ceremonies and civilities, and to forbear comming neer the fire after they came out of the cold aier, and the like.

He appointed that his two sons, Dr. Whistler, his chaplains, and colonell Potley should constantly sitt att his own table, and the rest of the gentlemen of that ranke in turnes, one halfe one day, and the other the next day, as conveniency and guests did permit; and those who sate not att his own table, to sitt at his steward's table, which often was in the same roome with himselfe.

After the orders read, Mr. Stapleton explained them, and exhorted obedience to them; and Whitelocke againe told them he expected obedience to them, and an account from his officers of any who should not conforme to them; and then he dismissed them.

This day Whitelocke wrote to the councell an account of his voyage, of God's goodnes in the preservation of him and his company, of the taking and dismissal of the dutch ships, and the grounds of his so doing; of the civilities and respects he received in this place; of their phrase of "liberum rempub. Angliæ;" touching the ordinance which he was to buy, that there were none ready; and what probable newes he heard: and sent his letters to captain Foster.

This

This being the *Lord's day*, colonell Nerne and divers ^{1653.} other scots officers and captains of ships, both english and scots, came in the morning and heard the sermon in Whitelocke's lodging; and most of them dyned with him. ^{Nov. 20.}

In the afternoone (as 'tis usuall in these parts to take this day for buifnes) the landtzhere and vice admiral, with severall others, came to Whitelocke, and expostulated with him about the dutch prize which the Elizabeth had taken and brought into this port.

The vice admiral alledged, that this dutch ship was waiting on the fishing, which had bin always free for any in those seas, and this ship ought not to have bin taken by Whitelocke; who answered, that if the right of fishing were examined, it would be found to belong to none in those seas, butt such as had licence from the state of England to fish there; and that such licences had bin usually heertofoe graunted by the king of England, and accepted by the dutch and others, and gabells imposed on the fishermen; and in this Whitelocke had a furtherance from his former studyes.

He told them, if such a right should be admitted (which was totally denied) yett it would take butt little place with those in enmity, as the dutch now were with the english; that he held this prize justly taken, and saw no cause to release it.

The vice admiral angrily replied, asserting the right of fishing; Whitelocke as sternly denying it. Then Thyssen objected, that the queen had forbidden any prizes of the dutch, or any other in amity with her majesty, as the dutch were, to be taken in her streames, or brought into her ports; and

1633. that the bringing in of this dutch ship to Gothenbergh was
 Nov. 20. expressly against the queen's inhibition, and ought to be
 released.

Whitelocke answered, that this dutch ship was not taken in any of the queen's streames, butt upon the high seas, many leagues distant from any of the queen's streames; and being taken by Whitelocke's fleet, she became one of them, and now rode under his flagge; and the common-wealth whom he served being in amity with the queen, that he their ambassador might bring this ship as well as any other of his fleet with him to Gothenbergh; and wished Thyssen to rest satisfied, for he could not release the ship upon these termes: at which the vice admiral became more calme than before.

Whitelocke had intelligence that some dutch ships were loading with ordinance and ammunition att Stockholm, wherof he gave notice to captain Foster, and by letters advised, whither he and the Elizabeth might not have opportunity to waite for them, and indeavour to attach them in their way home.

21. Captain Foster returned this answer to Whitelocke's letters.

" 1. It is very probable that the dutch residing at Gothenbergh have ere this sent intelligence to Stockholm of our being heer, and of what strength we are; and what likelihood there is that your honor hath gained intelligence of them, and theruppon may have commaunded us to attend their motion, betwixt the Risse and Dogger Sand.

" 2. That

“ 2. That uppon receipt of such intelligence, they will 1653.
 “ either order their stay there till the Spring, which they ^{Nov. 21.}
 “ had rather doe then hazard the loosing of them ; or else
 “ provide such a convoy for them, as we cannot doe any
 “ good uppon.

“ 3. That if we doe waite for their motion, and meet
 “ with them, our first work will be to incounter with their
 “ convoy, and to distrey them ; uppon which these two
 “ evils may insue, viz. either we may be disabled in our
 “ masts, and become a prey to them, or att best, when
 “ their convoyes are engaged, they will undoubtedly escape,
 “ and run their ships on shoare rather then be taken.

“ 4. And lastly, if we doe lye for them, and meet with
 “ them, yett, in regard it is in depth of winter, the winds
 “ and seas may be so high, that we cannot meddle with each
 “ other ; so that time and provisions may be spent, and the
 “ result of all may be to us butt a checke.”

“ These perticulars are humbly throwne att your honors
 “ feet, notwithstanding which, if you shall please, uppon more
 “ mature considerations, to send me order to attend the buis-
 “ nes, we shall in the strength of our Lord waive all feares
 “ of danger, and to the utmost of our powers indeavor the
 “ executing of your lordships commatnds to the last man ;
 “ craving your lordship's pardon for my assumption heerin, I
 “ commit you into the bosom of divine protection.”

Whitelocke was satisfied with captain Foster's reasons,
 and wrote to him that he should not waite for those dutch
 ships att Stockholm ; and he gave an account of that buisnes
 by letters in cypher to the counsell, praying their further
 direction therein.

1653. This day Whitelocke was visited by one of the presidents
 and syndick, who offered their service for his accomodations;
 Nov. 21. and the syndick offered and undertooke to mannage the
 buisnes of his journey, and waite upon him; whose cour-
 tesy Whitelocke did willing accept.

By letters of credit which Whitelocke brought with him
 from his merchant in England, he received heer of Mr.
 Gough, correspondent to Mr. Phips, 2000 rix dollars, for
 which he gave him this his acquittance.

“ Att Gothenbergh, 12. November 1653.

“ Received then by me B. Whitelocke, &c. of Timothy
 “ Gough, merchant, the some of 2000 ricks dblers, which
 “ I doe heerby promise shall be repayed to Mr. Gough, or
 “ his certain order, when and where he pleaseth; witnes
 “ my hand,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The vice admiral and the magistrates of this town finding
 Whitelocke's resolution to be fixed as to the dutch prize,
 and that the way which the vice admiral had gone would not
 take with Whitelocke, who was not to be vapoured or
 threatened into a conformity to their desires, they therefore
 now joined together in a way of more respect and civility;
 making it their suit to him, that for the good of the town,
 and out of charity and favour, he would be pleased of his
 own generosity and free good will, to release this ship.

Whitelocke told them he was ready to manifest the good
 affections of his superiors and of himselfe to this citty, and
 to doe a worke of charity, wished that the skipper should
 present

present a petition to him for the release of his ship ; and he 1653.
promised a favourable answer to it.

Nov. 21.

This he did to try if the vice admiral and skipper, being dutchmen, would acknowledge the common-wealth of England and their ambassador ; which they had no mind to doe, nor Whitelocke to gratify them without it. Yett they expected this day what he would doe in it ; and the skipper came often to Whitelocke's lodging to sollicite for his letter to the captain of the Elizabeth to release his ship ; butt was asked for his petition, without which the skipper was told that nothing could be done in his buisnes.

Another of the presidents of the town and the syndick 22.
agayne visit Whitelocke; with whom he conferred about his journey, and made some requests to them in order therunto, which they and their brethren carefully performed.

The vice admiral and the skipper of the dutch prize, seeing that Whitelocke insisted to have a petition for the release of the ship, their stomackes came down, and their great master, profit, prevayled with them; so that the skipper presented to Whitelocke a petition in latin ; the title was,

“ Nobilissime et excellentissime domine, my lord White-
“ locke patrone devenerande.

“ Most noble and most excellent lord, my lord White-
“ locke, &c.”

The prayer was to have his ship and goods restored ;
“ which, that it may be done, I humbly petition that your
“ excellence would vouchsafe to signify the same by your
“ mandatory letters to the captain.”

Whitelocke

1653. Whitelocke was not satisfied with this petition, as not
 Nov. 22. sufficiently acknowledging his superiors, and himselfe; which
 he objected to the landtzhire, the vice admiral and
 the magistrates who agayne applyed themselves to White-
 locke, and made it their joint and earnest request to him
 to release the ship: and to his objection they answered,
 that the poor skipper had gone as farre as he durst
 in the acknowledgment of the common-wealth of Eng-
 land and their ambassador, for feare of being questioned
 for it by his lords the states when he came home; that he
 had inserted the word petition, and the title of excellence,
 which is due to ambassadors only; and thereby had in effect
 acknowledged the common-wealth, and their ambassador:
 and it was believed by some, that the skipper would be
 punished when he came home for going so farre as he had
 done. And all these gentlemen were all earnest suitors to
 Whitelocke, not to insist further upon the forme or title,
 butt to accept the poor skipper's intentions of due honor
 and respect to him; and that, upon the grounds of pre-
 serving a sayre correspondence between the queen their
 mistres and the common-wealth, whom he served, and to
 prevent any disputes upon the matter of her majesty's
 right, and of her inhibitions, and to doe a favour to this
 citty, whose trade was so highly concerned heerin, and to
 doe an act of great charity to the poor men; he would be
 pleased to order the release of this ship, which would be
 well taken by the queen, and an obligation upon this citty:
 and that those persons who were now suitors to him for it,
 would be ready to serve him in any thing within their ut-
 most powers.

By these arguments Whitelocke was more perswaded than
 by any other; and told these gentlemen, that for the title
 of

of excellence, it was due to senators, generalls, and high admiralls, as well as to ambassadors; butt that he was the more satisfied that neither the right of the common-wealth whom he served, nor of their ambassador, was denyed, because the noble vice admirall and the rest of them did so often and so freely in their discourse acknowledge it; that he was very willing to lay hold on any occasion wherby he might testify the honor and respect which his superiors and himselfe had for the queen their mistress, and all care to prevent any misunderstanding between her majesty and the common-wealth of England, preserving the due right of them and their servant; that he was also very ready to doe all good offices for this citty, which had expressed high respects to his superiors in their civilities to him, who held himselfe obliged also to gratify those gentlemen who did him the honor to make this request to him, and from whom he had received all respect in this place: that on all these considerations, they had prevayled with him (who could hardly give them a denyall) that att their desire, and to expresse his respect to her majesty, to these noble persons, and to this citty, he was determined to give order for the release of this ship.

1653.
Nov. 22.

Att which, the landtzhere, the vice admiral, and the magistrates, all then present with Whitelocke, seemed exceedingly pleased, and gave him many thanks for this great favour to them, and to this citty, and his reall respects to her majesty heerby; and with many other complements they parted.

Whitelocke thought this the best way to avoyd difference and disputes with these officers of the queen, and it might be (through their instigation) with the queen herselfe, att his first coming amongst them; butt rather tooke this opportunity

1653. tunity to ingage them to civility to him and his company,
 ~~~~~ and to further his affayres; which was done by them to their  
 Nov. 22. power, and little prejudice was to Whitelocke's superiors.  
 He wrote to captain Foster, that this ship should be restored  
 to the owners; which was done accordingly.

23. Sir John Maclere, a scots merchant, living in this citty  
 (though he had bin of the king's party) yett visited White-  
 locke with much respect, and found his doores and civilities  
 open to him, as they were to all other gentlemen, without  
 distinction of parties or perswasions, or taking any notice  
 of delinquents; providing for his own security.

Nor was he wanting to returne ceremonies to those from  
 whom he received any. He sent (after the custom) to know  
 if the landtzhere were within, and att leifure to receive a  
 visit; who sent a kind invitation, that he should take it as a  
 great honor to see the english ambassador at his house.

Whitelocke walked thither, not being farre, on foote,  
 about fifty of his gentlemen walking bare before him; some  
 of the first ranke following close after him, his pages and  
 lacquayes after them, and with their swords by their sides.

Att the landtzhere's doore stood centries and a guard of  
 soldiers; he mett Whitelocke att his outer gate, and treated  
 him with much ceremony and courtesy: as soon as they  
 were sett downe; the landtzhere called for wine, and drank  
 freely to Whitelocke and his company; and his people car-  
 ried the wine to all the gentlemen, and to the servants in  
 the antichamber; it was reasonable good rhenish, and store  
 enough of it.

The house was not very fayre nor richly furnished, butt 1653.  
 convenient, and most of his attendants were soldiers. ~~~~~  
 Amongst other discourse, the landtzhere acquainted White Nov. 22.  
 Locke, that by letters from the court, he understood the  
 queen had some intention to remove to a place called Heskoe,  
 seven miles on this side of Upsale; butt of this he said there  
 was no certainty, nor would that place be so convenient for  
 her majesty's court, and for those who were to resort to her,  
 as Upsale was.

Whitelocke had also discourse with this gentleman touch-  
 ing the nature of his office of landtzhere, and the authority  
 and jurisdiction therof, and the precinct wherein the same was  
 exercised by him. And he collected from him, that his  
 office had much resemblance, and in effect was the same with  
 the office of our high sherifes in England, with the like ministe-  
 riall and judiciable authority within his territory and precinct,  
 which also seemed to be much like unto one of our shires,  
 not of the largest sort, in England.

The superintendent of Gothenbergh came to visit White- 24.  
 Locke with great civility. He is an ecclesiasticall officer,  
 differing in name and title, butt not in power and office,  
 from a bishop. He hath his name from the duty of his  
 place of supervision and superintendency over the clergy,  
 and the ecclesiasticall affayres of that diocese where he is  
 placed, and is in effect a bishop by another name. He hath  
 the priviledge of being a member of their supreme pub-  
 lique councill; butt is not to intermeddle with temporall  
 affayres or state matters; which is also prohibited to all their  
 bishops and clergy.

He spake good latin, and seemed to be a grave and learn-  
 ed man. Whitelocke discoursed with him touching the

1653. office of their bishops and superintendents in their countrey,  
 and of the profession of religion heer. He informed White-  
 locke freely in these matters, that in this place the profession  
 of religion was not so strictly lutheran as in other parts of  
 the kingdome, because heer was a liberty permitted to cal-  
 venists, and a publique church built and allowed to them;  
 which is no small priviledge in this countrey; butt the  
 Swedes are frowned uppon, if any of them looke into the  
 calvin church heer; yett divers of them do frequent it.

That the Swedes generally and devoutly doe adhere to the  
 opinions of Luther, and to the practise of the churches  
 allowed by him; and whosoever differs from them, is not  
 only looked uppon with an evill eye, butt commonly driven  
 from his countrey: yett in this town it is otherwise, and  
 many of their greatest and wisest men have testified their  
 just dislike of this severity, and their inclination to permit  
 a freedome of opinion and conscience, not disturbing the  
 publique peace; for which Whitelocke did freely argue, and  
 the superintendent was not morose in the denyall of it, and  
 that there ought to be persecution for non-conformity, espe-  
 cially in matters of ceremony, where the fundamentalls  
 are acknowledged, and the publique peace not disturbed.

They have pictures and images, and great observation of  
 ceremonies in their churches: their church musique were  
 pleased to visit Whitelocke, and wondered when they saw  
 him and divers of his people to understand their art, and to  
 sing with them, which they thought had bin generally ab-  
 horred in England; and were much pleased to find the con-  
 trary, butt more with the gratuity by Whitelocke bestowed  
 on them.

Whitelocke kept the superintendent att dinner, and the  
 landtzhere, the vice admirall, colonell Nerne, Sinclere, and  
 the

the major of the military men, the three presidents and the syndick of the civill part, by invitation, dined with him: the superintendent had the first place, the landtzhere against him; then the vice admiral and military officers on the same side, and the presidents and syndick by the superintendent on the other side. They all commended Whitelock's wine, english beer, and provisions: their discourse was generall, most concerning the affayres of England, wherein Whitelocke was able to give them some information; butt was wary of his words in so much company, perticularly in the the buisnes of the warre with Holland: uppon which occasion the landtzhere related a passage of a governor of a port in Norway, not farre from Gothenbergh, who, finding that one of that port had taken a commission from the Hollanders as a private man of warre, and by colour therof had brought thither a scottish ship as prize; the governor released the scottish ship, and imprisoned the private man of warre; which action Whitelocke commended as just and honorable in the governor, and in the king of Denmarke to give him such instructions; butt Thyssen said nothing to it.

1653.

Nov. 24.

They sate long att dinner as they use to doe att intertainements; and this was none of the meanest they had bin att. By Whitelocke's order, his officers had provided the best meate that the town would afforde, whereof they eate freely; and of his sacke and claret they dranke more freely, butt no healths; yett made it darke before they rose from table, and tooke their leaves with many thanks and complements.

This day the people of the town kept a day of publique thanksgiving to God, for the great plenty of corne and other provisions which had bin given them the last yeare, as they use to doe uppon like occasions, and observe these days  
very


1653. very strictly and devoutly; all shutting up their shops and  
 ~~~~~  
 Nov. 25. resorting to their parish churches: and after the evening
 sermon, which is ended early, Whitelocke in his usuall
 equipage walked forth in the town, where he had the more
 view of the people, being abroad, and keeping it as an
 holy day; and as he passed by any of them, he was saluted
 with much respect and great civility, which he was not
 slacke to answer.

This farewell letter was sent to Whitelocke by captain
 Foster.

For his Excellencie the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke. These.

“ MY LORD,

“ In obedience to your commaunds, I have issued forth
 “ an order for the surrender of the Elizabeth prize to the
 “ owner, &c. Since my last, being att Gothenbergh, we
 “ have had very tempestuous weather, with such frets of
 “ weather in twenty howers time att all the points of the
 “ compass, that two of our anchors each of 1600 lb.
 “ weight have had much adoe, with new cables, to hold
 “ our frigotts. I cannot butt admire the goodnes of our
 “ God, in giving your excellencie a safe voyage. I rest as
 “ fured, my lord, that this, with that wellcome newes from
 “ your lady, is, and will remaine as a signal testimony of
 “ the Lord’s eminent appearance with you, and for you,
 “ in all your undertakings. And although, peradventure,
 “ the weighty affayres your excellencie is now imploied
 “ about in the behalfe of your nation, may att some time
 “ (seemingly) have a vaile of intricacy uppon them, inter-
 “ mixt with dubious feare of desired successe; yett rest as
 “ fured (deare sir) that the eternall Power will owne and
 honor

" honor you with the full accomplishment of your desires; 1653.
 " seeing you have so freely parted with all that's deare unto 
 " you (as to externalls) exposing yourselfe to the stormy Nov. 25.
 " winter blasts att sea, and the many unknown difficulties
 " that attend these barren rocky countryes, for unparalleled
 " service for your countrey. Not only this, butt future
 " ages will have cause to honor the memory of your name,
 " and faithfull services.

Phoenix frigott,
 Nov. 24, 1653,

" Your lordship's most humble servant,
 " NICHOLAS FOSTER."

The wind continued very high, and wholly contrary to 26.
 captain Foster's course for England, so that he was inforced
 to continue in this harbour of Gothenbergh; the descrip-
 tion wherof Whitelocke, having a little leisure, sett downe
 whilest it was in his memory.


The coming to this harbour is very difficult and daun-
 gerous, especially for strangers, who use to passe the Riffe,
 spoken of before; and if one fall uppon a shallow part of
 it (wherof there are many and hardly to be avoyded with-
 out a good pilote) 'tis very perilous; from thence they
 must double the Skaw, which is the point of Jutland, and
 from thence beare their course to the coast of Norway,
 which is full of terrible rockes, neer which they must passe;
 and so by a constant strong current of water from the
Baltique sea through the Sound, which makes the crossing
 of it very difficulte, and the passage to the haven is not
 discovered till one comes very neer to it: the passage it selfe
 is so straight, that without good pilots the ship can hardly
 escape the rockes from splitting on them, there not being
 much more then twice the length of a ship between the
 rockes in some streights, for the ship's passage.

About

1653. About a league within the harbour, a new fort was
 Nov. 26. built, where the passage is not above a musket shot in
 breadth; and in the midst of that narrow passage is a
 rocke, two or three foot under water, uppon which divers
 ships have bin lost, and one of Gothenbergh a little before
 Whitelocke's comming thither: heer the ship must goe close
 by the new fort, which fully commaunds the entry into the
 haven; and although the fort be smalle, yett it is strong
 and regular. A little beyond it the ships come into an open
 wide water, about the extent of an english mile, incom-
 passed with high and huge rockes, where a great number of
 ships, and of the greatest burden, may safely ride, defend-
 ed from the winds by the rockes and shoare on all sides;
 and it is of a great depth. This is about a swedish mile
 (that is, seven english miles) from the sea; and att the fur-
 ther end of this broad water, the haven growes narrower,
 not above a quarter of an english mile in breadth.

There stands a castle on the east side, which commaunds
 the entrance into the river; the castle is not great, butt
 strongly situated on a rocke, and well fortifyed and pro-
 vided; this was knowne by some of our countrey men, who,
 in king James's time, served under the lord Willoughby.
 (afterwards earl of Lyndsey) in assistance of the king of
 Denmarke, to besiege it, butt were repulled.

The river from the castle to the towne is narrow, and
 about three english miles in length; in all which way it is
 very deepe, and is good harbour for ships of the greatest
 burden, where they ride safely. In this part of the river
 lay many of the queen's men of warre, among them a
 fayre and well built ship, called the Hercules, carrying
 threescore pieces of brasse ordinance; her captain was the
 vice admiral Thyssen: she seemed fitter for a defence in
 fight

fight than for an assaylant, or for fleetnes, more bulkye 1653.
 then nimble, much unlike our english frigotts, yett greatly 
 esteemed there. Nov. 26.

Heer lay also many swedish marchantment, being neer
 the town, and butt a short passage for carrying and recar-
 rying, by boates, and small vessels, of goods between the
 towne and the ships. Att the hither end of the town is a
 pretty little house of the queen's, uppon the river, which
 is not fortifyed, yett hath some great gunnes planted
 about it.

Being the Lord's day, yett these people (as is too usuall 27-
 with them) presented verses to Whitelocke in print, with a
 large dedication, which being very many in number, and
 having more designe of begging, then of ingenuity; he sent
 the expected reward, and layd them by..

The vice admiral, and other officers of the queen, wherof
 some were of the towne, came to Whitelocke, and informed
 him, that captain Welch had taken two Holland marchant-
 men, and brought them into her majesty's port heer, con-
 trary to her orders; and they desired, that Whitelocke
 would fend for the captain, and admonish him about
 it, and discharge these ships which he had thus injuriouly
 taken.

Whitelocke answered, that he would inquire how the
 buisnes was, and doe that which should be fitt in it; and
 uppon examination of the matter he found, that after
 Whitelocke was come on shoare, Welch putt out to sea
 agayne, and mett with two holland ships riding att the
 Skaw, the one of them being of 400 tuns burden; yett
 Welch being well manned, and provided for fight, he des-

1653. perately sett upon this ship, and boarded her : she made
 no resistance, butt was thus taken by him. Then he fell
 upon the other holland ship, being about 350 tuns bur-
 den, and clapt her on board likewise ; and thus seised
 upon both of them, being loaded with wheate, rye, wool,
 and planks : and being thus posselt of these prizes, he
 would faine have gone with them directly for England, butt
 the wind being contrary, and the weather very tempestu-
 ous, he was forced, for safety, to come into this harbour ;
 butt kept himselfe without the command of the forts, and
 rode as under Whitlocke's flagge, and as one of his fleet.

Nov. 27.

This being the state of the matter, Whitlocke sent to
 the vice admiral to acquaint him therewith, and to tell him,
 that Whitlocke thought it neither appertained to him as
 ambassador, or commander of the english ships heer, nor
 to any of the queen's officers, to intermeddle in this buis-
 nes of captain Welch ; neither did he believe, that the
 queen's harbours would be denyed to any Englishman, who
 had commission by authority of the parlement (as Welch
 had) or was part of the english ambassador's fleet (as he
 was) to come into them, and to shelter himselfe from the
 daunger of stormes ; that the buisnes was done upon the
 high sea, and between the English and Dutch, who were
 now in actuall warre ; and, therefore, the taking of their
 ships by Welch, Whitlocke thought very justifiable : and
 that he was not obliged to give a further account therof to
 any whatsoever, nor to reprove the captain for what he
 had done, nor to release the holland ships by him taken ;
 butt rather to commend his mettle and good service, and
 to encourage him.

With this message from Whitlocke, the vice admiral
 seemed much offended ; butt knew not which way to help
 his

his countrymen ; butt endeavoured afterwards to doe som- 1653.
what further on their behalfe.

Nov. 27.

Whitelocke began to grow weary of his stay in this place; and earnestly desired to be in the way of proceeding in his buisnes ; and being now certainly informed, that the queen was att Upsale, and purposed to reside there all this winter ; he, theruppon, resolved to begin his journey from hence the next Wednesday, and to keep in the direct way to Upsale ; hoping, within two or three days journey, he might meet with Berkman, and with his own servants, uppon the way, in their returne from the court.

In pursuance of this resolution, he gave order to his officers to prepare, and gett all things in readines for his journey ; and appointed the gentleman of his horse, with some others of his servants, to goe the next day to the landtzhere to have his advice and assistance for the procuring of horses, waggons, and accomodations for his land journey : which the landtzhere very readily promised to doe, and to send out his warrants for that purpose.

He appointed them likewise to goe to the syndick, and with him to the president's, to advise about the same buisnes ; and they all exprest very great forwardnes to assist Whitelocke in this buisnes, and to doe all the service in their power ; and conferring with his officers, they concluded, that it would be necessary for warrants to be sent out into the countrey, to bring in to this town, on Wednesday morning, by breake of day, 100 saddle horses, and 100 waggons, for the remove of Whitelocke, and his company, and carryages ; and therof they certefyed the landtzhere.

1653. The magistrates of this citty presented to Whitelocke a
 Nov. 28. supplicatory letter in latin, under their common seale,
 touching a ship of this town, taken by an english man of
 warre, and detained as prize in England.

The letter was thus superscribed :

“ Illustrissimo et excellentissimo domino domino Bul-
 strode Whitelocke, &c.

Gothoburgh,
 Nov. 28th,
 1653.

“ Ex^{ra}. v^{ra}. addictissimi, burgravius,
 “ præfides, et senatores, civitatis
 “ Gothoburgensis.”

“ To the most illustrious, and most excellent lord, the
 “ lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle
 “ of Winfor, and one of the lords keepers of the
 “ great seale, and extraordinary ambassador of the
 “ common-wealth of England to the most serene
 “ queen of Sweden, our most courteous lord.”

The letter sett forth, that the ship belonged to this towne,
 and ought not to be taken, or detained as prize ; and they
 intreat Whitelocke's assistance, and mediations to his supe-
 riors in England, for the discharge of her, and subscribe

“ Most addicted to your excellence,
 “ the burgrave, presidents, and sena-
 “ tors of the citty of Gothenbergh.”

Whitelocke finding in the letters an acknowledgement of
 the common-wealth of England, and of their ambassador,
 was the more willing to give them a fayre answer ; and

understanding by their letter, that the buisnes had received former agitation in England, butt without such success as was expected; he was the more wary how farre to ingage therein; butt showed all respect to the magistrates who brought the letter, and assured them, that he would acquaint his superiors with the great civilities he (as their servant) had received from this citty, and wherby they gave testimony of their high respect to the common-wealth of England, which he would improve to the best advantage he could, for the service of this citty; and according to their desires, would effectually endeavor with the councell of state in England, on the behalfe of the cittizens of this citty, in the buisnes mentioned in their letter; with which answer the magistrates went away well contented.

1653.
Nov. 28.

Whitelocke, putt in mind by their comming, and having a little leifure, sett downe the description of the town of Gothenbergh, with its fortifications, and both military and politicall state.

“ This citty is commodiously situated for commerce, and better then any other port-towne of Sweden; in regard, ships are not forced to goe through the Sound, and to pay the gabells therof, to come unto their trade; and it is not above nine or ten english miles from the main sea.

“ It stands uppon a river which separates *Gothland* from *Norway*; and is divided into severall armes and branches, which goe through every street of the citty; and are of great benefit to the inhabitants, serving every one for the loading and unloading of his goods att his own doore. It hath convenient bridges (though of firre) for the passage of people, horses, and waggons, over every water.

“ Norway

1653. " Norway is very neer this town, the finalle river only
 Nov. 28. parting it ; from whence (and much of it by this river,
 which is a long way navigable) come downe goodly mafts
 for ships, deales, pitch, and tarre, in great abundance ;
 and also from the countryes belonging to Sweden on the
 other side of the river, which reacheth high into the land ;
 where also it is navigable for great boates : so that the com-
 modities from both sides of it are easily, and with little
 charge, brought to this citty ; nor are these waters so soon
 frozen in this river as others are.

" There is this inconvenience of the river ; that about a
 dayes journey above the town, is a great and strange fall
 of the water, so fierce and deep, that no vessell can passe it ;
 butt all goods brought thither must be unloaded above,
 and loaden againe below this fall.

" About thirty years since, the town was poor and in-
 considerable, nor frequented by marchants, or capable by
 buildings to receive them ; butt king Gustavus Adolphus,
 observing the commodiousnes of the haven, and the scitua-
 tion for traffique, especially for avoyding the king of Den-
 marke's impositions through the Sound ; he graunted great
priviledges and immunities for twenty-one years, to all
 those, as well strangers as his own subjects, who would seate
 themselves in that place ; by which means, divers high and
 low Dutch, Scotts, and others, as well as Swedes, have
 built this town, and made many fayre houses of bricke,
 which yett seem not to be very substantiall ; perhaps by
 reason, that the *priviledges* were of no longer continuance :
 butt this citty is now sayrly built for the most part of
 it, and full of trade, and people, though it be not very
 large.

" It

“ It is well provided for *churches*, having two fayre ones 1653.
 new built for the Lutherans, and another for the Dutch and *Calvenists*, which is no smalle priviledge in those parts ; it is ^{Nov. 28,}
 well served with all sorts of commodities, and with good
 provisions, having the sea open.

“ The *gouvernement* of the citty is by three presidents,
 wherof one yearly, by turne, is *burgh-master*, like our
 majors, the *syndick* as our recorders, and a *councell* com-
 posed of twelve elected cittizens, in the nature of our
 aldermen.

“ This citty is strong, and well *fortefyed* with workes of
 earth cast up, and large ditches of water, where the rockes
 will permit ; the other parts of it are stronger, and more
 inaccessible by the rockes, which are difficulte for one to
 passe, and climbe to view them.

“ The bullwarkes are strong and regular, as the lines
 are, and planted with store of brasse cannon ; besides
 which, the naturall situation att the foot of a mountaine of
 rockes, which make part of their workes, and deep grafts,
 doe render the place of great strength.

“ A regiment of foot of about 1200 men is quartered in
 the town, under the queen's pay, which, in their habits
 and persons, are not unlike the english *infantry* ; these, with
 the trained men of the citty, which make up a considerable
 number of about 4000, are the garrison of the citty, and
 are all commaunded by the landtzhere.

“ Neer the town is a very great high rocke, on which is
 a little grove of firre trees, and other trees ; and from
 thence, a lovely prospect on one side of the towne, and
 likewise

1653. likewise into Denmarke and Norway, both within a mile of
 Nov. 28. this town, parted by the river. Their great guns are all
 of copper, butt are not very large, yett not the lesse use-
 full. The name Gothenbergh, signifies the fortresse, or
 defence of the Gothes; and it is the first town of Gothland
 towards England, and the boundary this way of that antient
 kingdome."

Whitelocke's people were buisy in preparation for their
 journey. The landtzhere sent forth his warrants into the
 countrey for 100 saddle horses, and 100 waggons, to be
 brought in by brake of day to Whitelocke's lodging; and
 the inferior officers, hoping for a gratuity for their pains,
 were the more diligent to execute them: and their order
 is so good, and the peoples obedience so exact, that the
 commands are not disputed, butt a short warning (as this
 was) is most readily and punctually obeyed.

The reason why so many waggons were warned in, was
 because of the smallness of them, and the great quantity of
 baggage and provision, which Whitelocke was necessarily
 to carry with him in his journey, in a forein countrey,
 not well inhabited, so many hundreds of miles as he was to
 goe, and for his accomodations when he came to be set-
 tled; and heerin he was advised by the magistrates and
 syndick and others of this place.

Lieutenant collonel Synclere, who had bin very civill,
 and officious heer to Whitelocke, obtained his letters to
 collonel Overton, commander of the parliament's forces in
 Scotland, to shew favour to Synclere's brother there, and
 was very full of thankfulness for it.

Some

Some of Welch's men coming to town, were stayed by 1653.
 the procurement of the vice admiral, and brought before ^{Nov. 29.}
 the landtzhere, who having examined them, was pressed by
 Thyfen to imprifon them; butt having more difcretion and
 civility then Thyfen, he did not committ them, butt ſent
 his major to Whitelocke, to know if he did own captain
 Welch. Whitelocke answered, "that he did own captain
 Welch as an englishman, and one of his fleet; and now
 rode under his flagge; and who (as he believed) had a com-
 maund as a private man of war, by authority of the parle-
 ment of England: and Whitelocke deſired the landtzhere
 not to doe any thing in relation to captain Welch, or any
 of his men, wherby to injure the right or honor of the
 common-wealth of England, or to interrupt the intended
 propoſalls of amitie between them and the crown of
 Sweden, which he believed would not be well taken by the
 queen; that he, being obliged to the landtzhere for his
 civilities, thought fitt to give him this friendly caution in
 this buſines."

This answer being returned to the landtzhere, Thyfen's
 plot was ſpoyled; and, to his great regret, Welch's men
 were preſently diſmiſſed.

Whitelocke, by letters, gave an account to the counsell
 in England of all paſſages heere, of his diſmiſſion of their
 ſhips 18th November, and their being ſtill detained by
 contrary winds; of the buſines of captain Welch; of his
 letters to prince Adolphe, and the chaneellor, wherof he
 incloſed coppyes, and of the letter of this town to him
 about their ſhip detained as prize in England: of the great
 reſpect and civilities of the magiſtrates heere to the com-
 mon-wealth, and to their ſervant; uppon which he moved
 the diſcharge of their ſhip, wherby he ſhould have the

1653. more reputation in this countrey, and be the better enabled
 Nov. 29. to doe them service; of his intention of removall from
 hence, &c.

In the evening, he ordered his steward to call for bills of his expences heer, and found them unreasonably high and deare; and the host's demands (like the Persian lawes) unalterable, he highly resenting the least question of the smallest sum of his reckoning, his great priviledge of cheating his guests; and to be fully satisfied in his imperious demaunds was not all, his wife must be likewise contented, and a gratuity presented to her according to the quality of the guest, and the time of his stay. An ambaffador is most to be coufened by this Dutchman and others, and so was Whitelocke heer; yett his present to Mrs. Hostess was 20 ricks dollers, which was not over gratefully, nor without some disdain, received.

He ordered his steward to see all the carryages loaded as soon as the waggons came in; and the gentleman of his horse, to see all in his charge in readyness.

30. Whitelocke gave to Noble, master of the Adventure, a certificate that he had performed his voyage.

Early in the morning were come to Whitelocke's doors 100 waggon^s out of the countrey; they were with four wheel^s, very smalle, and drawn by one horse a-piece, or by two beasts or coves on breast; they will not hold above one large tronke, or two little ones, in a waggon; they drive slowly, and the more slowly, bicause many of their waggoners be *women*. There were also brought in by the countrey 100 saddle *horses*, which are smalle, and hard trotters; wherof one may be the more sensible, by reason
 6 of

of their *saddles*, which are large, almost like the french ^{1653.} saddles for size and shape, butt farre different for ease: they ^{Nov. 30.} are made of wood, without any cover or stuffing, neither cloth, nor leather, nor any thing uppon them, butt he that strides the bare wood; yett they are so well made, that in riding they doe not prove so hard as one would feare them to be.

Their *bitts* generally are a piece of a ram's horne, and their *bridle*, a smalle hempen rope; their *stirrop*, a withe writhed together; and better could not be had, this being the equipage of that countrey, which did not afford better, and therfore these must content.

There was much confusion about the choice of horses, and loading the waggons, till Whitelocke gave directions therin to the gentleman of his horse, which were obeyed, and more quiet insued. And as soon as the waggons were loaded, he appointed them to be sent away, with some of his servants to attend them, whom he ordered to be constantly with them, some between every division of the waggons; and the gentleman of his horse to bring up the reare of his trayne. His quarter-master, cookes, and butlers, were sent before to make provision at the dorpe, where he intended to lodge this night.

After the waggons were gone, the superintendent, the landtzhere, the magistrates, vice admiral, and military officers of the town, came to Whitelocke to take their leaves of him, which was done with much respect and ceremony. The first president spake in latin to Whitelocke, which in the English was to this effect:

1653.

Nov. 30.

“ Most excellent lord ambassador,

“ The citty of Gothenbergh, whose servants we are, in-
 “ treat your excellence to excuse your ill reception, and
 “ want of accomodations in this place ; for which we are
 “ heartily sorry, and doe acknowledge, that if her most
 “ serene majesty, our gracious queen, should be acquainted
 “ therewith, that she would be offended att it ; butt we
 “ hope your excellence will be pleased (if there shall be
 “ occasion) to testify our readines in obedience to her
 “ majesty’s commaunds, to manifest all honor and respect
 “ to the free common-wealth of England, and to your ex-
 “ cellence, their most noble and great ambassador, whose
 “ gallant demeanor, wisdom, and affability, hath so farre
 “ woone uppon the magistrates and people of this town,
 “ that they shall ever be your excellence’s most faithfull
 “ servants and honorers ; and heartily wish you a safe and
 “ prosperous journey, and successe in all your under-
 “ takings.”

To this Whitelocke answered in latin, the english wherof
 was to this effect :

“ Most honored gentlemen,

“ I returne my hearty thanks to you, for your great
 “ respects and civilities to me, and my company, during
 “ our aboade with you, wherof I shall acquaint her majesty,
 “ and desire her to take notice of it, as a duety to her
 “ commaunds, and a respect to those whom she was pleased
 “ to have respected. I shall also acquaint my superiors
 “ heerwith, who will take the respects done to their ser-
 “ vant (as it was) as done to themselves. I wish this noble
 “ citty all prosperity, and to my capacity shall be ready
 “ to doe them service.”

This

This company being gone, it was time to gett on horse-^{1653.} backe. Whitelocke mounted upon his best horse, of excellent shape and mettle; he had a rich saddle and pistols, ^{Nov. 30.} himselfe habited in plaine grey english cloth; his other stoned horse, being also very beautifull, and with a rich saddle and pistols, was ledd leere: the rest of his english horses, besides those which the groomes rode, were mounted by his gentlemen, as many as there were horses for; the rest of his gentlemen and people rode upon the swedish horses, so accoutred as before, and all had swords and pistols.

After the horsemen came Whitelocke's travayling coach, being of blew velvet, with blew filke, and silver fringe, and richly gilded; it would hold eight persons, and was drawne by fixe bay english stoned horses, of a good size for travayle, and very handsome; and two more of the same sett of coach horses were ledd by leere, for a supply if there should be occasion: in this coach he ordered Mr. Ingelo to ride, being sickly, and collonel Potley, who was unweildy to ride on horseback.

Last of all came the best coach of crimson velvet, very richly imbroydered with filke, and gilded, which cost above 400l. it was large enough to hold ten persons. It was drawne by fixe blacke english stoned horses, large and very handsome, and two horses more of the same sett were ledde by leere, if any of the other should fayle, to supply them: this coach he ordered to be drawne empty, and in the way they covered it. With the coaches went the groomes, which did not waite on Whitelocke's person; and his lacquayes went by his horse side.

With

1653. With Whitelocke rode the landtzhære, and the vice admiral, collonel Nerne, Synclere, the major, and other military officers, who accompanied Whitelocke on horseback part of his way.

Nov. 30.


The cittizens putt themselves in armes to the number of above 2000, with *musketts* only, being in a garryson; they and their officers appeared in their own persons, proper men and gallantly habited, and armed, and many of them had served in the warres abroad. They drew up in several divisions in the market-place, and as Whitelocke rode through them, they saluted him with great civility, and with loud vollies of their shott.

Att the workes were the garryson soldiers, about 1200, all armed likewise with *musketts* only, and swords, as the cittizens were, butt of another mienne and habit; they saluted Whitelocke with rownd vollies of smalle shot as he passed by them.

From the bullwarkes the cannoniers bid him adieu, with discharging all their great gunnes, which roared a great while; and some of their complementall bullets came very neer to Whitelocke as he rode, butt, he supposed, not directed att him.

When he was come about an english mile from Gothenbergh, the landtzhære, and other officers, tooke their leaves of him, and they parted with many complements; the syndick, by appointment of the magistrates, did attend him throughout his journey, to take care of his accommodations.

After

After these gentlemen were gone, Whitelocke tooke his 1653.
 coach for travayle. The way was rough and stony, and in 
 some places were deep *precipices* from the rockes; the Nov. 30.
 bridges and wayes had bin newly repayred, by the queen's
 commaunds to the governors through whose precincts he
 was to passe. The countrey is very stony, uneven, and
 barren; att every quarter of a swedish mile a post is sett
 up, and in some places great stones, after the manner of
 the Romans, whose phrase was quot lapides? how many
 stones is it? for how many miles.

When they were come one swedish mile, which is a *stage*,
 there were fresh horses and waggons ready, summoned in
 by warrants; the pay of a horse is about 3 d. of our money
 for a swedish mile, and the hire of a waggon about three
 times the rate of a horse; and the countrey people take the
 care of bringing back their own horses and waggons from
 every stage: and it is very difficult to perswade the *boores*
 to goe one step further then one stage; and they will have
 their money before hand for every stage, before they sette
 forward.

When they had changed their horses and waggons, they
 went on their journey, and travayled this day two swedish
 miles, or leagues, which is about fourteen english miles;
 and was a great journey att this time of the yeare, the
 dayes being butt about four howers in length of day-light:
 and Whitelocke came not to his quarters till above an
 hower after it was darke, and his waggons two howers
 after him.


His lodging was taken up att a little dorpe or village,
 called Leerum, which was very meane: himselfe lay in his
 field bedde, most of his people in strawe; the meate was
 not.

1653, not good, the beere worse, exceeding strong and thicke;
Nov. 30. their best refreshment was lusty fires, and their own cheer-
fullnes, which Whitelocke increased what he could.

Mr. Berkman made great speed to returne from the court to meet Whitelocke, and to conduct him to the queen, according to her commaunds: he rode in 15 days neer 400 miles english; and this night, meeting Whitelocke att Leerum, he delivered to him his message and complements from the queen.

He told Whitelocke, that as soon as he came to court he was admitted to her presence, who longed to discourse with him about the english ambassador, and sayd, she hoped he was well arrived, bicause of Berkman's comming to her, who acquainted her, that the ambassador was well arrived att Gothenbergh: the queen sayd, she was extreame glad of it, and thought herselfe much honored by the parlement of England in sending such an ambassador to her; of whose person and honor she had heard much commendation, and of his quality, and favour with the general Cromwell, which was a testimony of the greater respect in sending him to her; and she tooke it kindly from Whitelocke to undertake such a long and daungerous voyage to see her; that she was only sorry she could not receive him att Upsale with that respect which she intended, and as att Stockholme, where she could have given him better intertainment; butt wheresoever she was, she said the ambassador should be wellcome to her.

Berkman said further, that the queen inquired of him touching all particulars, of himselfe, his person, discourse, family, trayne, and equipage; that she had ordered a house for him in Upsale, att her own charge, and furnished with
her

her own furniture : and she commaunded Berkman speedily 1653.
to returne to waite on Whitelocke, and to see that he should 
want no accomodations in his journey. Nov. 30.

Whitelocke told Berkman, that the common-wealth, whom he served, were much obliged to the queen for her great favours to their servant, who was, in his own perticular, highly ingaged to her majesty, and hoped shortly, (through the blessing of God) to have opportunity to acknowledge it, with all thankfullnes, to her majestyes person ; that he was also much obliged to Berkman for his extraordinary care and paines in this long journey he had taken, and for affording Whitelocke his good company att sea, and now, in his journey, assisting him for his accomodations : for all which he promised to be gratefull to Berkman, who was well pleased with that word ; and so they went to their bad quarters.

D E C E M B E R.

1653, **T**HE countrey being commaunded by their officers, came
 Dec. 1. in heer early this morning, and att every stage, which
 is commonly a swedish mile, with fresh horses and waggons;
 and there being much trouble in the taking of horses, and the
 unloading and loading of waggons, and payment of the
 boores, Whitelocke intreated Mr. Berkman and the syndick
 of Gothenbergh to take uppon them the care of that buis-
 nes, and to appoint some swede to see to the unloading and
 loading of the waggons, and to the taking and paying them,
 and for the waggons and horses, which they readily under-
 tooke; and therby saved much trouble to Whitelocke's
 people.

Whitelocke was informed, that not farre from part of this
 dayes journey lay Sconenland, part of the dominion of the
 king of Denmarke, and the chiefe town (sometimes the me-
 tropolis) of that countrey was called Lunenders, which was
 an archbishop's sea; and from that towne, they fancy that
 the name of London was given to our metropolis by the
 Saxons and northerne people, who came some of them out
 of these parts: but heerof will be larger mention, and the
 mistake shewn elsewhere as there shall be occasion.

The countrey through which they travayled this day, was
 of the same nature as the day before; only towards the end
 of the journey, somewhat more plaine and fruitfull. He
 travayled this day two swedish miles to a markett towne
 (though a poor one) called Allingfees, where the quarter
 was

was somewhat better then the night before, butt the people 1653.
very exacting.

Dec. 1.

This day's journey was through a better countrey and 2.
wayes then before: they were much troubled to gett carryages; butt the gentleman of the horse, and Mr. Berckeman, and the syndick tooke great paynes about Whitelocke's buisnes; so did a swede, whom the syndick brought with him, and was well paid for it but no more imployed, having bin discovered to advise the host to rayse the reckoning, and himselfe to have a share in it.

Their quarter this night was att a dorpe called Shifda; the journey a swedish mile and three quarters: their provisions heer little else butt leane beefe, boiled, roasted, broyled, and stewed; att which others were more apt to find fault than Whitelocke, who knew that his servants would have gott better if it could have bin had: butt he was whispered, that this beefe was of a rotten cow that dyed in a ditch, and that other provision could not be gotten heer. Whitelocke charged them not to speake of it, and to those that knew it not, it went downe favourly, to good stomacks in cold weather after a long journey; he discovered it not, butt eate of it as well as the rest, and made mirth of it afterwards.

His own lodging was in his field bedde; his people's upon fresh strawe.

They had a very long journey of three swedish leagues and 3.
a quarter, above twenty english miles, and daylight very short; the countrey was barren and stony, butt the wayes well mended; the weather was extreame cold, and hard frost, so that one of Whitelocke's pages, Hen. Elsing, by chance or play, having a fall in the house, did breake his

1653. arme, as seldome any in the frosty weather had a fall without
 Dec. 3. the breach of some limbe. Dr. Whistler, who had good experience and skill in chirurgery as well as physick, heer gave the first tryall of his skill, sett the pages arme very well, so that by bouldsters, and ordering of him, he was able to indure riding in the coach; and rather chose to indure much payne than to stay behind his master, whom he saw so tender and carefull of him, and of all his fellow servants.

The quarter this night was att a dorpe, called by them Wonga, extreame bad, and more beeve (suspected of kinne to the last) then any other meate, and whether that dyett, or the hard and cold journey might occasion it, was uncertaine (butt the doctor, who knew the dyett, layd it uppon that) Whitelocke was exceeding ill and feaverish; butt he tooke somthing that did him good, through the mercy of God, who gave him recovery of his health; and he indeavoured to cheer himselfe and his company in their hardships.

4. The quarters having bin so bad the last two nights, and Whitelocke himselfe and others of his company having bin very ill, and fearing that the snow might fall and hinder his journey; he was advised, and so resolved to goe from Wonga two leagues this day, to a citty called Scara, where he might rest the next day in better quarter, and his people have beddes to lye on; and he hoped that these reasons would excuse his travayling on this day, being the *Lord's day*; and indeed the provision and lodging was so very bad at Wonga, that he and his people could not have remained there all the *Lord's day* without extreame hazard of their health, and (as some told him) of want of meate for his great company.

By

By the way, Dr. Whistler's man, with a fall from his horse, brake his legge; the doctor saw it well sett agayne by the apothecary; and the man being a civill young man, his master was troubled for him, and so was Whitelocke, and offered to leave the apothecary and a servant to attend him and looke to him, if he would stay att Scara till he were well agayne to travayle; butt the man would by no meanes be perswaded to stay behind in this strange countrey, butt chose rather to indure the greatest payne to goe along with the company: wheruppon the doctor directed a carriage to be made of deale boards, in the fashion of a horse litter, which was ingeniously done; and the man was layd uppon a bedde and straw in this litter, which was carryed between two horses; and every morning sent before with the apothecary and two other men to goe along with it, and att the journeys end, the litter being taken downe, was sett uppon the ground in some roome; and in this posture the poore man, in great torment, was carryed above three hundred miles, and recovered very well agayne, to his master's credit; and was thankfull to God for his goodnes to him.

1653.
Dec. 4.

This night they came to Scara, where their lodging and intertainment was worse then they expected in a citty, a bishop's sea: yett heer all his people had beddes to lye on, such as they were; which was rare to them.

His carryages could not come up to him to Scara this night, butt stayed about a mile behind, in very bad quarter, the gentleman of his horse and others of his servants with them; and the dayes were so very short, that it was hard (especially for carryages) to travayle two miles in one day.

This day Whitelocke rested att Scara, his carryages not being come up to him, and to refresh himselfe, his people and horses, after weary and hard journeys. In the morning he

5.

1653. he visited the cathedrall church, this being a bishop's see ; the church is large, and strong built, of the countrey stone, butt not beautifull or curious. Many schollars were with their masters in the church in upper galleries, singing anthems to the organ and sackbutts.

Dec. 5.

Heer he saw a fayre tombe of the baron Soupe, who, in the german warres, rescued the king Gustavus Adolphus from being taken prisoner; which is ingraven on his monument to his honor.

In the quire are many pictures of saints and other images ; and att the east end of it, is a high altar, with a rich carpet of velvet imbroydered with gold, and a stately crucifix uppon it : there are also divers other and lesser crucifixes in several places of the church and quire. In the vestrey he saw the challices and pixes, with pieces of the wafers in them ; and none could see a difference betwixt this and the papists churches.

From the church Whitelocke went to the free-schoole hard by, which is a large roome, and in it between three and four hundred schollers, and some of them at the upper end with great beards, of thirty years of age, yett as subject to the rodde's correction if they offend, as the young boyes among whom they sitt. It caused smiling to see the disproportion and gravity of these schollers in respect of the other ; many of them are choristers, and did in the school make the same vocall musick as in the church, lowder than ordinary, butt not sweeter or more skilfull.

This is called a citty, bicause it is a bishop's see, and is very antient, though probably short of that which the schoolmaster affirmed. " That a Goth, a servant to Abraham, married one of Sarah's maides, and brought into his own country ;

countrey; and being growne rich, he built a citty in this place, and gave his wife the naming of it, who, in honor of her mistris, called it Sarah; and by the people's rough pronounciation is now called Scara." 1653.
Dec. 3.

Others (and as probably) derive the name of it from the swedish word Schire or Schare, which with them signifies a territory or province; and that this being the head citty of the territory about it, was therefore called as the schire town Schara; and from this Gothique word Schire, some derivation may be of our English word Shire, antiently written also Schire, for a territory or countrey.

This town seems to have bin very antient, especially by the buildings, which are in much decay, though large; they are of timber after the fashion of that countrey.

It hath no river nor way of commerce for the enriching of it; and though it be as the bishop's residence sometimes, there can be no great advantage of profit to the citty, if (as is affirmed) his revenue there be not above forty rick dollers, that is ten pounds a year.

The people are generally very poore, and divers of them very churlish: the citty stands in a pleasant fertile countrey, and hath bin large, and (as they report) considerable.

The minister and schoolmaster heer spake latin, butt not elegantly, hardly truely; yett they venturd att it in discourse with Whitelocke, who invited them to his table, and civilly treated them. Nor doe the schollers much profit in the latin tounge, as may appeare by their petitory epistle, which this evening they presented to Whitelocke in these words:

“ Salutem

1653.

Dec. 5.

“ Salutem et Dei benedictionem.

“ Generosissime, serenissime, atq; nobilissime domine princeps, te celeberrimæ regione nimirum Angliæ natus, quem
 “ celeritatem Deus ter. opt. max. una cum suo pio et laudabili
 “ comitatu benigne tam in aditu quam reditu custodire atq;
 “ benedicere dignetur. Siquidem Deo omnipotenti suo placida atq; divina voluntate placuit, nobis præsentibus in
 “ primæ nostræ infantia parentibus privare : et interim quæ
 “ nobis necessaria atq; ad sustentationem vitas spectant, à
 “ piis atq; probis hominibus quærenda sunt ; quapropter ad
 “ serenissimum atq; generosissimum principem nostræ est devota atq; humillima petitio, ut nobis aliquid pecuniæ benigne dare dignetur.

“ Deus omnipotens omnium beneficiorum retributor atq;
 “ benefactor est, cujus protectionis V. S. cum toto suo comitatu commendare volumus.”

The english wherof may be thus guessed at.

“ Health and the blessing of God.

“ Most generous, most serene, and most noble lord and
 “ prince, who is borne in the most famous country, to wit,
 “ England, to whom God the most good and great, mercifully vouchsafe to keep and blesse, with his pious and
 “ commendable company, as well in their comming hither as
 “ in their departure. Wheras it pleased God Almighty, in
 “ his pleasure and divine will, to deprive us who are heere
 “ present of our parents in our first infancy, and in the
 “ meane while those things that were necessary for us, and
 “ pertained to the sustenance of our lives, were to be sought
 “ by us from godly and honest men :

“ Wherefore

“ Wherefore our devoute and most humble petition is, to 1653.
 “ the most serene and most generous prince, that he would Dec. 5.
 “ courteously vouchsafe to give us some money. Allmighty
 “ God is the rewarder of all benefits, and a benefactor, to
 “ whose protection we will commend your serenity, and all
 “ your company.”

They were prodigall enough in their titles, hoping to procure the more liberality from him who little esteemed them ; yett gave a reward to the presenters of this epistle, who acknowledged it to have bin corrected by their master : and Whitelocke wondered, that in a free publique schoole, in a citty which was a bishop's sea, they had not better latin, when generally in other places, the noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates, and officers doe write and speak good latin ; butt this town is not an usuall rode, nor much frequented.

Whitelocke ordered the gentleman of his horse, with his company, to goe this evening with the carriages about a mile from this towne forward in the journey, which was long as he intended next day.

This day Whitelocke travelled three swedish miles, the 6.
 countrey being somewhat plainer then before, yett full of great stones and firr trees, butt little corne land, being entered into the great forest. They came before night to a dorpe called Binebergh, where their lodging and dyett was extream badd, and most of the provision cow leane heefe, cutt out in pieces, and fryed, roasted and boyled ; and as it was heer agayne whispered to Whitelocke, the cow was rotten, and dyed in the field ; butt better food could not be gotten, and this went down with good and keene appetites.

1653. Whitelocke's steward come very late hither, and informed
 Dec. 6. the occasion of his staying behind to be, that after Whitelocke was gone from Scara, the steward, and one or two more with him, coming forth to follow their master, they were imprisoned, and the inne doores shutt upon them, and could not have liberty to come out untill they had payed ten ricks dollers more than the reckoning; and the only reason therof was, bicause the furly host would have it so.

Whitelocke was so incensed heerat, as a breach of his priviledge of ambassador, that he told Berkman and the syndick, he would go no further till he had right against this inne-keeper, and that he would send to the court to advertise the queen of this injury done to him. Butt he was pacified with their information, that the inne-keeper had bin already by the magistrates of the citty severelly punished for his insolence.

The best meate they had in this countrey was porke and bacon, if they could have gott enough of it: their hogges are lesse than those in England, and of a wild kind, and black, feeding most upon pine apples; their flesh is very sweet and good, butt little of it was heer to be had: nor of their hares, though in most parts they have great plenty of them, and they are moister and larger than those in England: and which could hardly receive credit, butt from those who saw it, as Whitelocke did; and his company, when the snowe comes, the hares change their colour in a short time, and become themselves as white as the snowe; yett, in summer, they change agayne to the ordinary colour of our hares in England.

7. This days journey was five swedish miles, about thirty-five of our english miles; yett seemed the shorter, bicause the

way was very good: the country marvailed at so long a journey taken by strangers, when the days were so short, and the company so great. They passed through huge woods of firre, wherein are said to be great store of wolves and beares. 1653.
Dec. 7.

Heer is melancholly travayling without company; for in most of this countrey hitherto, one shall seldome meet with a crosse way in riding a league or two together; so little commerce is in these parts, and so little daunger of going out of the way, where there is butt one way to travayle in.

In this journey they mett with one extream bad piece of way, on the side of a rocke cutt out by mens hands, not two foot broader than the tracke of his coach: on the right hand was nothing butt craggy huge rockes hanging over them, twenty or thirty fadome to the top of them; and on the left hand of this way was a steep pręcipice, fifty or sixty fathome downe to the lake Meler, which was att the foote of it, and no way possible for them to avoyd this tracke, and to goe out of it. Whitelocke caused his people to alight and walke on foote, leading their horses till they were past it, not being a mile in length; and some he causes to walke by the coaches; and had not his coachman and postilions bin their art's masters, and of mettle, they could hardly have bin able to drive a coach in that way: butt God was pleased heer, as in all the journey, to preserve and blesse Whitelocke and all his company.

This lake Meler appeared as a great and wide sea; and indeed was so, though of fresh water.

1653. The people affirme, that in it are 4444 islands, the least
 of them above an english mile in compasse, and inhabited.
 Dec. 7. Certaine it is, that this lake is above 100 english miles in
 breadth, and the islanders have communication by boates
 sayling to one another, and to the shoare: their dwellings
 are not healthfull, being often afflicted with terrible agues,
 which continue long, and commonly take the people in the
 spring; and yett most of them (especially to those who are
 not natives) prove mortall.

Butt on the banks of the lake are many pleasant seates of
 noblemen and gentlemen, which they say are very health-
 full, and furnished with abundance of provisions of fish and
 fowle; and they have great delight in taking of them.

Some of those seates Whitelocke viewed, and found their
 building to be only of firre timber, the bodyes of great trees
 squared, and layed one uppon another, keyed together by
 other great pieces of timber, all sett uppon huge stones
 about a foot from the ground: between the bodyes of the
 trees which make the walle of the house, is great store of
 mosse forced in, like the calking of a ship, which keeps out
 the sun, and makes the roomes coole in summer, and keeping
 out the frost and cold aier, makes them the more warme in
 winter.

The rooffe is of deale boards jointed close together, and layd
 a little sloaping, uppon which they put pieces of the barke
 of birch trees to cover it, and the barke they cover with
 turfe, and lay them as flatt as a rooffe is made with leade;
 the barke keeps the wett from soaking through the boardes,
 and beares out the raine and melting of the snowe, and the
 wett glides down the barke to the eeves, and so falles on the
 ground; and is not inferiour to any rofe of flatts or tile.

Uppon

Uppon it growes good grasse from the turfes, which invites the sheep and goates to clamber to the toppe of it, and to feed on it, which they may the easier doe, bicause their buildings and stories are generally very lowe, feldome more than two stories in height ; and many of those buildings, almost whole towns together, have no morter, lime, stone, tile, or bricke in the building of them, except only in their stoves and chimneys.

1653.
Dec. 7.

Whitelocke's carryages, by reason of some difasters and breaking of waggons, were out all night ; and such was the honesty of the waggoners and countrey people, that in all the journey he lost not any of his goods to the value of sixpence, except a great glasse of tobacco ; and although in one place his iron trunke of money brake, and the halfe crownes, which were money currant there, dropped out, yett were they all againe restored to Whitelocke's servants.

This and the two last days journeys were through the great forest or wilderness called Valterd, which they affirme to be forty leagues, that is 300 English miles in length, and about 70 miles in breadth. Whitelocke was three dayes travayling over the narrowest part of it, and contented with hard quarter, there being only a few hutts or cabarets, butt no dorpes or tounes in all that way.

It is full of goodly firre trees, exceeding tall and streight, 8.
and the way broad and sandy ; the trees on each side thicke for many miles together, and smelling of the turpentine, make a most sweet and pleasant walke and riding : great distruction is made of those woods by the inhabitants neer adjoining ; it being a piece of husbandry among them, to burne great quantities of wood standing uppon the ground, and then cast some seed corne among the ashes, without any ploughing

1653. ploughing or other manuring, wherof they have commonly
 Dec. 8. one good crop, and no more : such is their plenty of wood,
 that very many large timber trees lye and rott uppon the
 ground, and the inhabitants will not bestow the paines of
 fetching them away.

There be also in this forest trees which they call birk, that
 is birch trees, and others which they call aish, that is ashe,
 others which they call eukes, that is oakes ; from whence it
 may seem, that we had these names of our trees : butt their
 oakes are not so solid and hard as ours, nor so fitt for ship-
 ping ; their oaken planks (as most others in the world)
 are apt to splinter by a bullet shott into them, which the
 english oake doth not, nor soake in the waters as oakes of
 other countryes doe. Their oakes heer are so farre from
 any navigable river, that they are of little benefit to the
 countrey.

Their calculation of 20,000 woolves, besides a great
 number of beares and other wild beasts in this forest, may
 well be mistaken, those cattle (and in so wide a forest) not
 being easily to be numbred.

This night their quarter was att a bourgh, called Boderne,
 where one of Whitelocke's chapleins, Mr. Ingelo, visited
 the minister's house, a very meane one, and his family in as
 meane a condition ; his children in torne shirts, and no
 other clothes uppon them in that bitter cold weather ; and
 his wife little better furnished : this and sundry the like ob-
 servations in the journey, may cause our ministers and others
 to be the more in love with their own countrey.

Heer they had better provisions than in other places ; ex-
 cellent porke and hares, and a little bird called a yerpen, of
 bignes

bignes between a partridge and a pidgeon, white and firme
of flesh, and in tast beyond a partridge for delicacy.

1653-
Dec. 8.

Most of their lodging was in good strawe, which is bigger
and longer than that in England.

This dayes journey was four leagues and a halfe, still
through the forest, whose colour, all green with the pines
and firre trees, would almost perswade a travayler that it
was another season, did not the bitter colde assure the con-
trary.

About halfe a mile before the end of the journey, Potly
in his retorne from court mett Whitelocke on the way, and
with him came a gentleman of the queen's chamber, well
habited and fashioned, called Mr. Lyllicrone. Whitelocke
came forth of his coach to salute him, and the gentleman
spake to Whitelocke in french to this effect:

That he was sent by the queen to visite Whitelocke on the
way, to inquire of his health in his journey, to attend him
to Upsale, and to take care that he should want no accom-
modations in his journey.

Whitelocke answered, that he hoped ere long to have
the happines of being in her majestye's presence, to retorne
his thanks for the great favor and honor she was pleased
to manifest to him, wherof he should take the first oppor-
tunity to certesfy the parlement; and that his journey would
be the more pleasant, by the company of so noble a person
as he was.

The gentleman then told Whitelocks, that prince Adol-
phe presented his service to him, with these letters, which
he

1653. he then delivered to Whitelocke, who then opened and
 ~~~~~ read them \*.

Dec. 9.

\* See appendix,  
 D.

The letter is thus putt into English.

*To the Most Excellent Ambassador of the Parlement of the  
 Common-wealth of England.*

“ Most excellent lord ambassador,

“ The letters were delivered unto me, by which your  
 “ excellence was pleased to signify your arrivall att Gothen-  
 “ bergh, with a hope of meeting our most serene queen  
 “ there, and of performing the duety of the ambassy im-  
 “ posed on you ; butt now being frustrate of that hope,  
 “ and not knowing where to apply himselfe to the most  
 “ serene queen, as his commission and imployment doe re-  
 “ quire, he therfore expected to be certefyed from me,  
 “ whither he should apply himselfe. That I might satisfy  
 “ this desire of your excellence, I acquainted our most  
 “ serene queen with that which your excellence did heer-  
 “ uppon communicate unto me ; and truely, the comming  
 “ of so great an ambassador, and his voyage performed  
 “ with so prosperous successe, did affect her most serene  
 “ royall majesty with no smalle joy ; and therefore she com-  
 “ maunded me to take care for the reception of your ex-  
 “ cellence, and to certefy you, that you might take your  
 “ journey to Upsale : to this end I have sent this gentle-  
 “ man, a servant of the court of her most serene majesty,  
 “ to meet your excellence, that, he knowing the language,  
 “ might guide your journey, and provide things necessary  
 “ for it. In the meane time, from the goodnes of your  
 “ excellence, I promise myselfe your excuse, if the condi-  
 “ tion and state of the places through which you travayle,  
 “ will

“ will not admit that intertainement which is fitt for the 1653.  
 “ ambaffador of fo great a common-wealth; butt having  
 “ finished your journey, when your excellence fhall come Dec. 10.  
 “ to this place, all indeavor will be ufed, that the incon-  
 “ veniences which your excellence hath fuffered in this  
 “ journey, may with all kind of honor be repayred. In  
 “ the meane time, I wifh your excellence a happy journey.

“ Your excellence’s moft ready to ferve you,

Ubfale, Nov. 28.  
 1653.

“ ADOLPHE JOHN,

“ Count Palatin of the Rhine.”

Having read the letters, Whitelocke invited Mr. Lylli-  
 crone to take a roome in his coach, butt he excufed it, and  
 rode on horfeback. By the way, one of Whitelocke’s gen-  
 tlemen, Mr. Cattle, received a daungerous hurt in his fore-  
 head, by the kicke of a horfe, to the great daunger of  
 breaking his skull; Whitelocke took doctor Whiftler with  
 him, and went to vifit Cattle att a boores houfe, whither  
 he was carried: there Whitelocke faw him drest with me-  
 dicaments out of his own cabinet, which was alwayes with  
 him, putt Mr. Cattle into one of his coaches, and fo went  
 on to a burgh called Blackfta, where they had reasonable  
 good quarter.

This dayes journey was two fwedifh leagues, to a citty  
 called Orfborough, the largeft town, and beft quarter,  
 which they had hitherto mett with; the houfe where White-  
 locke lay was very fine in furniture, the mafter of it being  
 wealthy; for he had bin an officer of the crown about the  
*mines*, for the buifnes wherof, and the commerce and difpof-  
 ing of the copper, this citty is conveniently feated, being



1653. neer the mountaines where the mines are, and having the  
 Dec. 10. benefit of navigable waters. Before the house was a guard  
 of foldiers; of a company of the queen's regiment of  
 guardes, quartered heer by reason of the sicknes att Stock-  
 holme; some of these foldiers were placed att the lodging  
 of Whitelocke, as an honor to him, yett probably not  
 without the expectation of a gratuity from him.

Heer Whitelocke received the first packett of *letters* from  
 England, since his comming from thence, about five weekes  
 after the date of the letters; and they came the sooner, by  
 Mr. Lagerfeldt, who posted by land, and left the packett  
 in this town the last night, with a servant of Whitelocke's,  
 whom he mett heer, sent before to make provisions from  
 his master.

Whitelocke was not a little rejoyced to receive letters  
 from his private friends, of the health and wellfare of his  
 wife and family. He had also letters from the secretary of  
 the councell, Mr. Thurloe, wherin, amongst other things,  
 it was thus sayd:

“ I should have bin glad of all opportunities to manifest  
 “ the just sence I have of all the many obligations your  
 “ lordship hath layd uppon me, and to have assured you  
 “ of my constant and diligent attendance uppon every  
 “ thing which might concerne you, and your present am-  
 “ bassy, wherin I wish your excellence honor, and good  
 “ successe. I have heerin sent a *character*, by which your  
 “ excellence may correspond with the councell, in things  
 “ of secrecy, or signify your commaunds to your ser-  
 “ vant, which, I hope, will come safe to your hands un-  
 “ scen.”

Then

Then he gave him an account of the proceedings in 1653.  
 England in the dutch treaty: butt Whitelocke marvelled,  
 that the character should be sent after him, and by a pub-  
 lique minister of that crowne to which he was imployed,  
 and neglected to be given him before his comming away;  
 butt he was glad to receive it, and made much use of it. Dec. 19.

*The Lord's day.* Whitelocke rested in this towne of 11.  
 Orsborough, and had two very good sermons preached  
 by his chapleins in his lodging, which the people much  
 approved, and wished they could have understood our  
 preaching.

There came to his table, the captain of the company  
 heer quartered, whose carryage being somewhat scornfull,  
 Whitelocke inquired what he was, and learnt, that he was  
 the son of Salmacius, who wrote the booke of *Defensio*  
*Regis* agaynst the parlements proceedings; and his son att  
 dinner began to discourse liberally uppon that argument;  
 butt Whitelocke silenced him, yett was sparing in delivery  
 of any opinion in that buisnes; butt declared it to be too  
 high for his judgement, or for the judgement of this young  
 captaine.

In this citty is a castle belonging to the crowne, incom-  
 passed with waters, butt neither large nor beautifull, or of  
 much defence; in it is also a stable for about one hundred  
 horse, wherein Whitelocke had the favour to have his horses  
 stand.

This dayes journey was three swedish leagues, to a 12.  
 burgh called Fitzborough, where was very bad quarter;  
 and it was hard duety after long travaile uppon such horses,  
 and furniture, as is before described, in bitter cold weather,

1653. and for the most part in the night-time, the dayes being  
 not above four howers long, to come to bad dyett, and a  
 Dec. 12. bed of strawe ; butt they were contented, bicause better  
 could not be had in those places.

Upon the way, there fell out a kind of *mutiny* among Whitelocke's people ; some of them, tyred and sore with their hard horses and saddles, grumbled att their bad accommodations. Whitelocke, to appease them, alighted from his coach, called the gentleman who first began the disturbance, and complained of his being ill, caused him to alight and goe in Whitelocke's roome into his coach, and Whitelocke mounted on the swedish horse, and in that furniture and equipage rode along with the rest of his company, drolling, and pertaking with them in their hardships ; which, with his gentle usage of the offender, gave more satisfaction, then severity att such a time would have done to his people.

Att supper with more beefe, one of his servants told Whitelocke, that they could gett no other provision butt the quarters of a beast, which (he sayd) was found dead in the field. Whitelocke commended the variety, and the dressing of this meate, and it went downe with good stomackes, and made good meate afterwards to tast the sweeter, besides the delight in remembrance of it.

In their great roome of lodging, he caused his field bed to be sett up, and the gentlemen lay in fresh straw round about him, he being frolick, and cheering them ; and it is no smalle piece of the art of government to know when to be familiar, and when a fitt distance is to be observed : he commaunded that they should want nothing that was to be had,

had, and the plenty of fuell was no smalle comfort to them att that season. 1653.

Dec. 12.

They were early ready to part from their ill quarter, 13. and travayled two swedish leagues and a halfe, to a town called Cupin. The countrey which they passed was fuller of corne then formerly, with some smalle meadowes in the bottomes. The manner of fencing their arable lands is with a drye pickt *bedge*, made of great and long firre poles, stuck in the ground thick, and bound together with withes, wherwith they inclose a large piece of ground, after they have sowed it; and att harvest time, they breake it up agayne, and burne it; butt for green or quick hedges none are to be seen in 300 miles together.

Their winter corne is early *sowed*, that it may gett up before the frost comes, with the which, or not long after, commonly the snowes doe fall, which cover the green corne, and keep it warme, and the ground mellow, and kill the weeds; and att the spring, the thawe comes and dissolves it, and the corne comes to ripene strangely in a short time.

Heer complaint was made to Whitelocke, that the *prætor* of the town denyed his assistance to procure quarters for Whitelocke's people, and gave ill language of the parlement: that they had killed their king, and were a company of taylors and coblers.

Whitelocke showed high distaste at these speeches, and professed to the swedish gentleman with him, that he would have satisfaction of the prætor, and the honor of the parlement vindicated; wherin he was resolved to trye the respects of her majesty to his superiors, which he doubted not

1653. not butt she would manifest, by an exemplary punishment  
 of this reproach.  
 Dec. 13.

The swedish gentlemen presently fetched the prætor, who is the second officer, like our sheriffe, and the consull, who is the head officer, like our majors of the town. Whitelocke made them waite long ere he would speake with them; and, att length, when he highly expostulated with them, they wept very much, butt indeed were before halfe drunke for sorrowe.

The prætor absolutely denyed the words charged uppon him; butt affirmed, that he spake only to this purpose, what lyes doe the Holland gazets tell us? when they say, the parlement are a company of taylors and coblers, when you see what gallant fellowes they are by their ambassador; what a brave gentleman he is, how nobly attended, what a company of gallant persons waiting uppon him, above 100 in his company: and he protested, that he loved and honored the parlement of England and London with all his heart.

The like was attested by the *consull*, who, for prooffe therof, sayd, that he had read Milton's booke, and liked it, and had it att home. In conclusion, after many protestations, and much mediation, and store of wine presented, and for the most part drank by the magistrates; they and Whitelocke were reconciled and became kind friends, and they and their under officers were very serviceable to Whitelocke and his company.

In discourse with the prætor, Whitelocke extolled the dignity of his office, second in the citty, and his jurisdiction.

tion something like that of the roman prætor ; which this 1653.  
 officer was well pleased to heere.

Dec. 13.

To the consull, Whitelocke commended the wisdom of their law, in providing such a head officer for the government and peace of the town ; and the wisdom of the people, in chosing so able a man to be their chiefe officer under the queen ; who, as he had the roman name of the office, so within his præinct (as Whitelocke had learnt) did not much come short of consular authority : which this consull agreed, with much liking.

From them Whitelocke also learnt another appellation of a chiefe magistrate of his company or fellowship, whom they call *Aldryman*, that is with them, an antient, or elderman, or elder ; and he is the chiefe or head of his company, and hath a kind of power and jurisdiction over the rest ; and is in effect the same, which antiently, and att this day, we call our aldermen.

This dayes journey was three swedish leagues and a quarter ; the way was very good, and it was very much to the cheering of Whitelocke and his company, in so long a journey, a time of so much hard weather, and where other accomodations were wanting, to find generally so good high wayes. 14.

The queen was pleased to commaund her officers in the severall provinces where Whitelocke was to passe, that the high *wayes* should be amended ; and such care was taken, that hardly any countrey affords better wayes then these ; though in some places very mountainous, and severall desperate præcípices downe to great lakes, and butt a very narrow tracke to passe there, and with great daunger.

Butt

1653. Butt generally the wayes are harde and even, and if att  
 any time broken, the perticular officers for that purpose  
 doe summon the inhabitants, and forthwith cause the wayes  
 to be sufficiently repayred.

In low places, they use to cast up a cawsey large and high in the middle, with a sloaping and fall on each side, where they make ditches to receive the water, which falls from either side of the cawsey into them; and the way is filled with stones, yett even, and in places which require it, conveyances are made with trunkes of timber, layd crosse the way under ground, to passe the water, and keep the way from bogges.

The high wayes are the better preserved, bicause they doe not permit any heavy carryages to passe on them; no waggon is suffered to goe with above one or two horses, or beasts, to draw it, and therefore cannot so much weare and teare the wayes, as where heavy carryages breake them.

Their officers for the highwayes are not like ours in England, where two poor men in every parish are chosen for *overseers* of them, who, favouring their neighbors and themselves, more then intending the buisnes, feldome doe much good in it; butt these swedish officers are constant for that service, and like the Romans *curatores viarum publicarum*, have the charge and care of looking to the publique wayes, that they be kept in repayre, and uppon any default presently amended; for which end, they have power to cause the inhabitants in their præinct, who are fitt to worke, that they labour in their persons, and others to contribute by their purses.

They

They quartered this night att a citty called Westraas, the largest that they had passed uppon the confines of Gothland, fayre and well built; and att the end of it was such another castle as that of Orfborough, belonging to the crown. 1653.  
Dec. 14.

The head officer heer was a consull, or major, who, with severall of the magistrates, or aldermen, did speake good french and latin (something rare to those who came from England); and they were very civill and gentile in their deportment to Whitelocke and his company.

This citty is the more considerable and wealthy by a navigable river from hence to Stockholme, conveying great quantities of copper, and iron, digged out of the mines uppon the mountains, about two leagues from the towne; from whence the rich commodities are brought by land carryage to this citty, and from hence by water to their chiefe port and citty of Stockholme.

Heer were also guards, very officious to Whitelocke, and he liberall to them; and the quarter heer was very good, butt the people exacting.

A gentleman, who was secretary to his royall highnes the prince palatin, prince heretier to the crowne, passing by this countrey, and hearing that Whitelocke was expected att Westraas, the secretary stayed to give him a vifit, and passed divers complements uppon him, in the name of the prince, his master: to whom Whitelocke desired the secretary to present his service; and that he hoped to gaine an opportunity to waite uppon his kingly highnes, before he left this countrey. 15.



1653. The fyndick of Gothenbergh posted this morning from  
 ~~~~~ Westraas to the court, to give them advertisement of White-  
 Dec. 15. locke's being come so farre on his journey.

This day Whitelocke travayled three swedish leagues, to a burgh called Encupin, where was dusty and badde quarter, and the baggage not come up to him for want of horses, which neglect was believed to be willfull, to occasion Whitelocke's longer stay by the way; which the swedish gentlemen, his conductors, desired, butt not discovered in plain terms untill this evening, when a post came to them with letters from the court, from the grand master prince Adolphe; which they imparted to Whitelocke, to this effect:

“ That the queen and her court were astonished, that
 “ the english ambassador was advanced so farre in his jour-
 “ ney, with such a trayne, in so short a time. That her
 “ majesty was glad of his safe arrivall so farre; and in re-
 “ gard, that she was desirous to give him such a reception,
 “ and intertainment, as might testifye her respects to the
 “ common-wealth of England (for the which, preparations
 “ were not yett ready) her majesty desired that Whitelocke
 “ would repose himselfe in this place untill Monday next
 “ (this being Thursday); and then to come to a gentle-
 “ man's house, halfe way from Encupin to Ubsale, which
 “ the grand master had appointed to be provided for him;
 “ and that Tuesday would be a convenient time for his
 “ entry into Ubsale.”

This signification of the queen's desire was a sufficient ground for Whitelocke's resolution to stay heer till Monday; and by a messenger with letters from the gentleman of his horse, he was certefyed, that the boores in this part of the
 coun-

countrey were more churlish then in other parts, and ^{1653.}
 would not bring in horses and waggons to bring up the ^{Dec. 15.}
 carryages, for which he desired orders might be sent; and
 the swedish gentlemen, with Whitelocke, took order for it:
 and Whitelocke wrote to his gentleman of the horse att
 Quarna, where he was, ordering him not to come from the
 carryages, butt to bring them up to Encupin as soon as he
 could gett accomodations; yett not to make more then
 ordinary haste, bicause Whitelocke resolved to stay heer till
 Monday.

The weather was hard and frosty, yett very cleer and
 fayre; Whitelocke was ill and much indisposed, butt God
 was pleased to support and recover him.

Whitelocke viewed this town, and found it not very ^{16.}
 large or beautifull, either for buildings or situation, butt
 much decayed and wanting trade; and is situate in a low
 ground, the same river from Westraas passing by it, and
 fertile land about it.

It is the first towne they came to out of Gothland, Go-
 thenbergh being the confines eastward, and Westraas west-
 ward, of that antient kingdome of Gothland, which is di-
 vided into westro Gothland, next to Norway, and estro
 Gothland next to Ubsale. These countryes of west *Gothland*,
 and east Gothland, are very large, and indifferently well
 peopled, and were the seate and habitation of the antient
Gothes, from whom the name of Gothland comes: the Ger-
 mans call it Gotlandt, and the word Got and Gut with
 them, and in swedish, signifies good, and is used sometimes
 for God.

1653. A great part of this land is a good and fertile countrey,
 considering the climate; and although the inhabitants of
 it, att present, are not numerous, yett, in former times,
 it was so fruitfull of people, that vast numbers of them left
 their countrey as overstockt, and planted themselves in the
 best and most countreyes of Europe; of whom it is sayd ^a,
 that "the Gothes, a cruell people, antiently subdued Italy
 by armes," and layd Rome herselfe even with the ground.
 Butt ^b Pasquier vindicates the Gothes from this calumny of
 barbarisme; shoves their politie, and civility, and justice,
 not to be inferior to the Romans themselves; and that re-
 proaches were cast uppon them by the pens of those whom
 they had vanquished by their swordes.

^c Gothofred gives them also their due honor, and faith,
 "they could not bow themselves to idlenes and pleasures,"
 butt leaving their own countrey, they invaded and subju-
 gated most parts of Europe, and Italy itselfe; where they
 a long time had dominion, and the memory of them will
 not easily be blotted out.

Their laws teach us, that they were not barbarous; and
 their characters for writing, which were most antient, doe
 informe us ^d, "that this nation did joyne the glory of learn-
 ing with their knowledge of military affayres;" and as it is
 noted of our antient british *women*, so it is said of the
 gothish ^e, "that in warre they used to goe together into the
 army, and to mingle themselves as men, in the rankes of
 those that fought."

^a Gothi immanes populi olim in totum orbem, suam invexerunt barbariem.
^b P. 432. ^c Non posse se torquere otio et inertia. ^d Gentem istam litterarum
 gloriam cum rei bellicæ scientia conjunxisse. ^e In militia solubant Gothorum foeminae
 simul in aciem prodire, et se pugnantium miscere cuneis ut viri.

Whitelocke saw many of their women holding and driving the plough, driving their waggons, rowing their boates, and in other employments more usuall and fitt for men, then for that sexe; and it was common with them. 1653.
Dec. 16.

Whitelocke learned the manner of administration of justice in the countrey and townes heerabouts, and in this kingdome to be thus: 17.

“ They have in every great towne in the severall pra-
 “ cincts, justice administred att their own homes, with se-
 “ verall appeales from inferior to superior judicatories; and
 “ the last is to their supream publicke councill, like our
 “ parlement: butt heerof, Whitelocke had occasion to
 “ inquire more particularly afterwards, and from better
 “ hands.”

He learnt also, that in these countryes they have an officer of justice whom they call a lagevard, laved, and lovvard, according to their severall idiomis. Lage in their language (as in the Saxon) signifies lawe, and vard or ward, a guardian or keeper; so lagevard or loved is a warden or keeper of the lawe, a judge. The same word loved we find in Bede, and in many Saxon manuscripts, used for lord; and by contraction and pronounciation, from lagevord and loved, may easily come the word lord.

The Lord's day. Whitelocke had two very good sermons preached by his chapleins in his own lodging. Mr. Clavering, an english merchant, residing at Stockholme, came to Whitelocke to Encupin, and brought to Whitelocke two packetts of letters, which came from England by the ordinary post to Stockholme, and brought joy to Whitelocke and to many of his company, to heare from their relations: 18.
 among

1653. among the letters to Whitelocke was one from his wife, full
 of sadnes and affection, and desire to come to him, and
 Dec. 18. praying him to send for her: wherein she saith, " I cannot
 " butt admire att God's goodnes, that I am yett alive ; my
 " sadnes increaseth every day, so that I can do little else
 " butt weep night and day. Your going cost me many sad
 " complaints before it came, butt since, I am not able to
 " expresse my griefe ; I could willingly doe or suffer any
 " hardship to be with thee ; I cannot butt envy the meanest
 " fervant in thy house, for I would willingly doe their worke,
 " so that I might enjoy thy good company. The Lord keep
 " you in safety, and fill you with his spirit, and make you
 " walke in close communion with himselfe, so that you
 " bring much glory to his name, which will be a greater
 " honor unto you then if you should enjoy all this world.
 " Oh ! lett the name of God be called uppon in your family,
 " and doe you and your family serve the Lord, which is
 " the dayly prayer of."

By this paquet he also received letters from Mr. Thurloe, acquainting him with the passage of the portugall ambassador's brother, and his company, murdering a man att the change, and their madd fury, for which they were executed. He acquainted Whitelocke also with the particulars of the dutch treaty, the orders of the councell touching swedes ships taken for prizes, and discharges for some of them ; with the buisnes of Scotland, Ireland, France, Spayne, and a perfect and full intelligence of all affayres, both forein and domestique, relating to England, or to Whitelocke's negotiation : which were of great use and advantage to Whitelocke in his treaty ; and gave testimony of Mr. Thurloe's faithfullnes to the publique, and affection to his friend.

He had also intelligence of designs by some of the king's party to kill him ; and it came from no slight hands. And this they said, " Whitelocke must have great fortune if he escape Dorislau's and Ayscham's fate ; for there are three in Sweden already (two of them have bin used to such sport) that will attempt him, and have designed to kill him ; and if they misse, there are those that will goe over in the ships with him, that may doe Whitelocke that friendly office."

1653.
Dec. 18.

For confirmation wherof, although Whitelocke had given strict orders not to admitt any without his warrant into any of his ships ; yett there was a proper lusty fellow who gott into the horse ship, pretending with much diligence to help about the horses, when the groomes were sicke : and being come on shoare, Whitelocke was informed of him, and that there was cause to suspect him. Whitelocke caused his eldest son to take this fellow to be his servant, to use him very kindly, and therby to worke uppon him, and by what means he could, to indeavor to gett out of him his purpose and designs against his father ; however, by having the man constantly about him, he might have the more carefull eye over him, and be the more att hand to prevent any mischief from him.

Whitelocke himselfe also used the fellow with more than ordinary favour as his son's man : butt nothing could worke uppon him to make a particular confession of his own designs, butt intimated enough of others, and a change as to his purposes against Whitelocke ; which, that they were of mischief, his own more perticular confession to one of his most intimate consorts, and his running away in the journey, did confirme ; fearing that Whitelocke would have secured him, and proceeded against him. Butt the Lord was Whitelocke's defence, and in this and many other daungers was his shield and protection.

Whitelocke

1653. Whitelocke travayled two swedish leagues of long and
 ~~~~~ bad way, the weather bitter cold and hard frost, and much  
 Dec. 19. of the way ice, for which his horses were purposely shod by  
 a smith and farrier, which he tooke along with him, yett  
 his english horses unacquainted with so much ice, had many  
 falles, and one of the horses of his coach in which he rode  
 slipped upon the ice and fell downe and brake his neck,  
 and never sed afterwards; so that he found the convenience  
 of having coach horses led leere in such a journey, with one  
 of which he presently supplied his own coach: and it was  
 a great preservation, that no more of his horses, nor any  
 one of his people, was hurt in that day's journey.

Though he went forth early, yett he came not till within  
 night to his quarter, which was a gentleman's house taken  
 up for him: it was the fayrest he had bin in through the  
 journey; it was built of stone, high and large, and covered  
 with copper, which manifested the father of the owner to  
 have had a beneficiall employment as an officer about the  
 mines.

The hall, dining-roome, and others of like use, were large  
 and well fashioned, butt were two payre of stayres high, ac-  
 cording to the usage in this countrey; where their chiefe  
 chambers and roomes of intertainment are generally not as  
 those in England, below stayres, butt are one or two stories  
 high; and heer they were so, and full of windowes, and  
 very cold, most of the floores not boarded, butt paved with  
 stone or bricke; and the English unaccustomed to such  
 piercing cold weather, were the more sensible of it in  
 this place.

The provisions heer were good and plentifull, as White-  
 locke found in payment for them; the greatest trouble was  
 to

to gett stable roome and horſe meat ; and Whitelocke ordering the gentleman of his horſe to ſee that he had before he came in. After much trouble and paynes taken by the gentleman of the horſe, with hard ſhift they gott roome and meate for the horſes ; to which buſines they were not accuſtomed, themſelves uſually travayling uppon the countrey horſes, which at the end of every ſtage are brought home by the owners.

1653.  
Dec. 19.

The maſter of the houſe kept Whitelocke company, giving him information of the countrey, and of the nobility and gentry inhabiting therabouts, and of the governement, wherof there will be occaſion to diſcourſe elſewhere.

The houſe was indifferently well ſeated ; the country not unfruitfull nor unpleaſant about it ; plenty of proviſion of fiſh and fowle, butt no great variety: not farre from it was much water and marſh ground, butt now all hard with the froſt.

The gentleman of the houſe excuſed his want of houſhold ſtuffe and accomodations, in regard his father was lately dead, wheruppon his goods (according to the law of that countrey) were divided among all his children ; which is like the cuſtome in London, Yorke, and other places in England.

Heer the lands are alſo divided among the children, both ſons and daughters, each hath a ſhare, and is not unlike the cuſtome of Gavelkind in England, which may reaſonably enough be ſuppoſed (as many other of our cuſtoms that may be mentioned heerafter) to have had their original from this people.



1653. This succession of estates hath a certain and generall course  
 Dec. 19. upon the death of the parent : his chiefe house goes to the  
 eldest son, and an equall share besides of the goods and lands ;  
 every other son hath a like equall share of the goods and  
 lands ; and every daughter hath halfe the share of a son.  
 Nor is it in the power of the father to alter it, either by  
 deed or will, except in some cases of his purchase ; butt  
 after a discent, the estates are thus partible. If the possessor  
 have no issue, he then hath power of alienation in his life  
 time : butt the purchaser of those lands hath no confirmation  
 or assurance of his estate, untill one year be passed after  
 the sale of the lands ; bicause in that time the next of kinne  
 to the seller may come in, and laying downe the purchase  
 money contracted for, he shall have the land to him and his  
 heirs, as the first purchaser should have had.

By this course of succession of estates, they observe, that  
 much quiet and freedome from suits is gayned ; there is  
 little occasion for conveyances, and few or no questions  
 touching discents or wills, bicause the law ascertains the  
 course of them in all mens cases alike.

Wheras in England, every possessor of an estate having  
 a power to make private laws for the disposing thereof by  
 conveyance or will, multitudes of questions and suits doe  
 arise upon the exposition of those conveyances and wills,  
 which are prevented by the partible law of Sweden.

The like partible law takes place generally in Germany,  
 Denmarke, and other neighbouring countryes, both for  
 goods and lands ; all states whatsoever there (as in Sweden)  
 being comprised under the name of goods.

As

As it holds for goods, so for titles of honor, their lawes 1653.  
 are more liberall then in England, or in southerne countryes, <sup>Dec. 19.</sup>  
 where the succeſſion of titles and honors goes to the eldeſt  
 ſon only ; butt in Sweden, and thoſe northerne countryes,  
 uppon the death of the aunceſtor, his title diſcends equally to  
 all his ſons ; as if the father be an earle or baron, uppon his  
 death, all his ſons are earles or barons, as their father was,  
 which increaſeth the number, butt not the intereſt of their  
 nobility.

This order of ſucceſſion of eſtates in Sweden is generall,  
 except in ſome perticular places, and with ſome variations,  
 as circumſtances may require ; the learning therof is fully  
 fett downe by their learned doctour Loccenius in his  
 Synopſis juris ad leges Sueticas accomodata.

This day's journey was two ſwedifh leagues: the weather 20.  
 very ſharpe, and about noone the ſnow began to fall in great  
 abundance. Both Whitelocke and all his company had great  
 cauſe to take notice of the goodnes of God to them, as att  
 all times, ſo particularly throughout this journey, which was  
 extreame longe and tedious, full of hardſhips and difficulties ;  
 and it was obſervable, that untill this time the weather  
 was for the moſt part fayre and good: when it was open,  
 the way fell out to be hard and good ; when the way was  
 deep and watry, the froſt helped them. If it had bin either  
 rainy or ſnowy, there had ſcarce bin a poſſibility to have paſt  
 the journey, eſpecially in ſo ſhort a time as they did ; the  
 want of beds and proviſions, ſome very bad wayes, ſharpe  
 weather, ill accomodations for horſes, furniture, waggons,  
 meate, drinke, lodging, hurts, ſickneſſes, all inconveniences  
 and hardſhips, mett with chearfull and conſtant ſpirits  
 (many of whom had borne great hardſhips though ſhort of  
 theſe in our english warres) butt their greateſt ſupport was  
 a dependance uppon the goodnes of God, who had called

1653. them to this service for their country; and now, and att all  
 ~~~~~  
 Dec. 20. times in his mercy, did not fayle them.

Being come within halfe a swedish league of Ubsayle, his pages, lacquayes, coachmen, postilions, and groomes in their liveryes, and all his people in their order; he was advertised, that Monsieur Vanderlin, the master of the ceremonies, was hard by, to meet him, in one of the queen's coaches; and both of them being alighted for salutation, Vanderlin in a careles garbe, in french, told Whitelocke, that he was sent by the queen to meet him, and to conduct him to Ubsale; and that she was glad he was come so well thither.

Whitelocke acknowledged with thanks the favour of her majesty; then offered Vanderlin a roome in his coach, butt he refused it, saying, that two senators would meet Whitelocke before he came to Ubsale, in some of the queen's coaches; and so he and Whitelocke went each to their own coach.

About an english mile before they came to Ubsale, two senators, Monsieur Tobe and Monsieur Vanderlin, brother to the master of the ceremonies, and much company with them, were come forth of their coaches, and stood by the high way to meet Whitelocke, who, before he came neere them, alighted from his coach; and after salutations, Vanderlin the senator told Whitelocke, and spake in swedish, which was interpreted in latin, that "the queen had sent them to meet him on the way, and was very glad that he was safely arrived so farre on his way; that she had sent her coaches to transport him to Ubsale, and desired to receive him with all honor."

Whitelocke

Whitelocke answered in english, which also was interpreted in latin, that in the honor her majesty was pleased to show to him, she manifested her great respects to the common-wealth of England whom he served; and that he hoped shortly to have the happynes to waite upon her majesty, and to present his thanks to her. 1653.
Dec. 29.

Then senator Vanderlin spake in french to Whitelocke, desiring him to enter into the queen's caroché du corps, which he did; the two senators satt in one boote, and the master of the ceremonies in the other. The coach was of green velvet inside and outside, richly laced with broad silver laces, and fringed; the harnesses studded and gilded; six handsome white horses drew it, and about twenty of the queen's lacquays in trunked hose of yellow, laced with blew and yellow lace attended it; there were in all eighteen coaches, with six horses a-piece, and about six other coaches, with many of the queen's gentlemen on horsebacke.

The coaches observed their order; the meanest first, and so on in their degrees: the spanish resident's coach went next before Whitelocke's, and both Whitelocke's coaches next before the queen's.

The senators were very civill, and had good discourse in french; but the master of the ceremonies of so slight a carriage, that Whitelocke was the more reserved to him.

In this equipage they brought Whitelocke to Upsale, multitudes of people by the way, and in the town, spectators of his entry; and through the town they brought him to the markett place to a fayre bricke house provided and furnished by the queen for his intertainment; none besides the queen's castle a fayrer house then this was.

They

1653. They went directly up two payre of stayres ; the queen's
 Dec. 20. and Whitelocke's gentlemen went up first bare-headed ; the
 master of the ceremonies followed them ; then the two senators,
 and Whitelocke after them, and sometimes (as the passage would permit)
 between them ; the queen's lacquayes lighted them up with torches,
 and Whitelocke's lacquayes among them : the first stayres were of stone,
 att the top of them a lobby and entry paved with bricke ; the second
 stayres were of timber, on the top of which was a lobby hanged
 with tapestry ; out of that they went into a withdrawing roome,
 hung with good hangings of the queen's, a canopy or state of velvet
 over the table, with stooles fuitable, the carpet of cloth of gould.

Within this roome they brought him to the bed-chamber, a
 handsome square roome, hung with very good cloth of Arras ;
 the bed was of blew velvet, richly imbroidered all over with
 gold, and a little filke worke in flowers, lined with yellow
 damaske ; the carpet was of crimson velvet imbroidered with
 gold and filke ; the chayres answerable to the curtains, and
 large foot carpetts of turkey worke round the bed.

As soon as they had brought him into his bed-chamber, and
 bid him wellcome, they took their leaves, telling him that they
 must attend the queen, to acquaint her with his coming. Whitelocke
 waited on them to the stayres head, and finding them to take
 no notice of it, and multitudes of people interposing, Whitelocke
 retired to his bed-chamber.

About halfe an hower after the senators were gone, a gentleman
 of the queen's bed-chamber came to Whitelocke, and said in french,
 that he was sent by the queen to Whitelocke, to inquire how he
 did after his journey, and to bid him wellcome to Upsale ; and to
 excuse the want of such accommodations

comodations as were fitt for his quality. Whitelocke desired 1653.
 the gentleman to returne his thanks to her majesty for her ^{Dec. 20}
 favours, and consideration of him, and for his accomoda-
 tions, all through her favour, which made his journey seem
 easy and pleasant to him.

Presently after his going, Monsieur Lagerfeldt, who had
 posted and gott to the court before Whitelocke's comming,
 came now to Whitelocke's house, and told him that he was
 sent by the queen to visit him : they had much discourse to-
 gether, wherein Lagerfeldt offered with all freedome and
 courtesy to doe any good offices concerning Whitelocke or
 his buisnes ; and therof he gave Whitelocke good hopes of
 the queen's inclination to a satisfactory dispatch. Whitelocke
 inquired of him many things concerning the queen and her
 court, officers, servants, and the publique ministers heer..

The master of the ceremonies returned to Whitelocke,
 and in discourse expostulated with him, that he did not
 show that regard to the senators who conducted him into
 Upsale, as was due to them ; and instanced, in that, after
 they had taken leave of him in his house, he did not bring
 them down to their coaches as he should have done ; that
 they were persons of the greatest quality and authority in
 the kingdome ; that their own people, and all strangers,
 and particularly ambassadors, did use them with the greatest
 regard and civility ; and that after they had brought him to
 his lodging, he should, att their going away, have brought
 them to their coaches ; and that he was sparing in giving
 them their due title of excellence, which, if he did not, they
 would not give him that title, and much like matter..

Whitelocke answered, that he was weary after his journey,
 and a lame man, to whom the going up and down so many
 stayres

1653. stayres was more painfull than to others ; that nevertheless,
he desired not to be wanting in ceremonies or any expressions
 Dec. 20. of respect to persons of all conditions, especially to senators,
 who were of that eminent degree and esteem ; and among
 them those noble lords ; who did him the honor to ac-
 company him hither, by their civility challenged and merit-
 ed all respect from him ; and if his own ignorance att any
 time led him into an error, he should be willing to be recti-
 fied and better instructed by so learned an author and judge
 as the master of the ceremonies was in these matters.

Butt in the particular charged on him, he did acknow-
 ledge, that he purposely omitted waiting uppon the senators
 to their coach, and sometimes of adding their title in dis-
 course, being carefull of his owne honor, and therein of the
 honor of his nation ; that he apprehended the first neglect
 to be on the senators part, in taking no notice of him, nor
 offering any civility to him, in passing thorough three severall
 roomes one after another, butt permitting their own lac-
 quayes and others to interpose between them and him, who
 seeing himselfe so much slighted by them, did therefore for-
 beare to attend them any further, butt retired to his cham-
 ber ; and when he apprehended them to be reserved in
 giving him his due title, in regard he was ambassador from
 a common-wealth (which he held as due to him as to any am-
 bassador of a single prince) he might theruppon perhaps
 use that title to them the more seldome.

That he was no stranger to civilities, having had the
 honor to see the courts of severall princes ; that he was most
 ready to give to others their due honor, and expected that
 the honor of the nation whom he served should not be di-
 minished in any respect belonging to him as their servant.

The

The master of the ceremonies seemed not to expect so quick an answer, and layd blame upon the rudenes of the multitude, att such times of solemnity. Whitelocke said, they were their people and under their rule. The master replied, that he hoped in all matters, there would be a good understanding between Whitelocke and this court, wherin he should be glad to be serviceable : he then desired of Whitelocke a copy of his credentiall letters, to shew them to the queen ; the which were ready transcribed and delivered to him.

A gentleman came to Whitelocke from Don Antonio Piemontell de Parada, envoy extraordinary from the king of Spayne to the queen of Sweden, to visit Whitelocke, from his lord, and to lett him know that he intended to come himselfe to visit him, as soone as his audience should be passed ; and no other publique minister heer sent a compliment to Whitelocke.

The master of the ceremonies returned back to Whitelocke to supper, which was sett on the table in a large dining roome or halle in the same flower with the bed-chamber on the other side of the lobby ; this chamber was furnished with the queen's hangings, full of filke, and good worke ; in the middle of the roome was a long table, with a canopy or state att the upper end of it, of cloth of gold, with the armes of Sweden, and supporters, richly imbroydered with gold and filke : a second table was on the one side for Whitelocke's steward ; and a third table att the lower end for plate and cisternes.

There was a cupboard of the queen's plate richly guilt, with other large silver vessells : the master of the ceremonies having conducted Whitelocke into this roome, himselfe came

1653. with a towell, Mr. Lillicrone and the carver with the bason
 and ewer, and held them to Whitelocke whilest he washed.
 Dec. 20. Grace was sayed by one of the queen's pages; then the master of the ceremonies desired Whitelocke to sitt att the upper end of the table, as he did all the time of the queen's intertainment, which was three dayes, although a senator were present; butt att other times, if any senator came to dine with him (as they often did him the favour) he sett him att his table above himselfe, it being the custom of this countrey so to doe, and contrary to the english fashion: the master of the house gives precedence in his own house to all strangers of quality, both att the comming in, and continuance there, and returning: and heer they are highly sensible of the least omission of any ceremony which themselves judge to belong to them; and Whitelocke held it not fitt to displease them heerin, reserving and expecting the ceremonies and rights pertaining to his own character, and therin to his nation.

The company were placed att meales of the queen's intertainment by the master of the ceremonies; and first of them, Whitelocke's two sons, then the rest in their order: the queen's officers and servants attended with great diligence and ceremony; above all, the carver was too tediously ceremoniall.

Whitelocke had bin informed of the custom of the northerne countryes, of being too much addicted to excessive drinking, and using by many and great draughts of strong drinke and wine, to drinke (as they miscall it) healths, the then which nothing tends more to sicknes and drunkenness, and sinning against God; to prevent which, Whitelocke had strictly warned his own family against drunkenness, and that none of them should att any time begin or pledge any health, butt to excuse themselves by his example and command,

maund, who was resolved not to admitt that wickedness in his household. 1653.

Dec. 20.

This night about the midst of supper, the master of the ceremonies rose from his seate, and came to Whitelocke with a great glasse of wine in his hand, and began to him a health to the common-wealth of England. Whitelocke with civility desired to be excused from pledging of it, alledging it to be against his own judgment, and the manner and fashion of those whom he served, to drinke or pledge healths, and therefore desired his liberty. The master of the ceremonies (as in his own verge) imperiously urged Whitelocke to pledge the health, and told him that he could not refuse it, being to his masters the common-wealth: Whitelocke answered, that the common-wealth would not be offended att his refusall to pledge their health; and that his masters, if they were present, would also refuse it; that he had gained his liberty with much hazard att home, and should be unwilling to part with it abroad.

The more earnestly it was pressed upon him, the more earnestly he denied it, keeping to the rule, principis obsta; and was resolved (as he did) to clayme and make good this his liberty in the beginning and first assaults upon it.

After this, the master of the ceremonies began the health of generall Cromwell, which was refused by Whitelocke as the former was; att which (in great disdain) the master of the ceremonies asked if they thought it unlawfull, and said, he could not sufficiently wonder to see one refuse to pledge the health of his own generall.

Whitelocke answered, that as he condemned no man for drinking a health, so they ought not to condemne him for refusing

1653. refusing it, and that the master's admiration was altogether unnecessary; that generall Cromwell had other manner of worke for his soldiers then to drinke healths; that his performance of his generall's commaunds in more important matters would please him better then pledging of his health: there were many retournes of the like nature in words and gestures, full of heate and discontent.

Dec. 20.

Whitelocke's son, and doctor Whistler, likewise refusing to pledge the health, the master of the ceremonies, in great scorne, asked, why not drinke a health? and was answerd, why not eate a health? The master sayd, they might observe their countrey fashions when they were att home, butt now should observe the customes of the countrey where they were.

Whitelocke replyed, that he understood no such lawe of ceremonies or of nations, for such as himselfe and his company, his quality giving him the priviledge to keep the customs of his own countrey, wheresoever he was; and this freedome he expected heer, and was resolved to preserve. After divers passages of this nature, the dispute concluded in a silent discontent during the rest of supper time.

After supper, Whitelocke made hast to his lodging, whither the master of the ceremonies conducted him; and so they parted. In the lobby, between the great chamber and the withdrawing roome, were guards of the queen's foot with partisans.

21. Mr. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him, that the queen, reading the copping of his credentialls, excepted att the omission of these words in her title (potentissimæ

tiffimæ domina) which were given to her by the emperor, and all other princes and states.

1653.

Dec. 21.

Whitelocke desired Lagerfeldt to returne this answear to the queen, that Whitelocke was well assured, that the parlement did beare as much respect and honor to her majesty, as any state or prince whatsoever; that this omission of the words of her title was not purposely, or out of any disrespect to her, butt meerly happened per incuriam of those who prepared the credentialls, which, he desired, her majesty would be pleased to passe by.

Lagerfeldt replied, that he thought her majesty would be satisfied with this answear, which was the more confirmed, in regard that the same omission, being in Lagerfeldt's recredentialls when he tooke his leave in England; upon his desire it was amended, and those words inserted.

Whitelocke then told Lagerfeldt, that the festivall time of Christmas now drawing neer, which was much observed in this countrey; and (as he was informed) that they would intertaine no buisnes during that time; he therefore desired, if it might stand with the queen's conveniency, to have his publique audience before that time: to which Lagerfeldt promised to bring the queen's answear in the afternoone, which he did accordingly; that her majesty was satisfied with what Whitelocke had sayd touching the omission of the words in her title; and concerning his audience, she was willing to gratify his desire, and appointed friday next for it.

Whitelocke took care to informe himselfe of the fashion and custom of this court, and of all particulars relating to his audience.

The

1653. The dinner was tedious, with like state and ceremony as
 Dec. 21. the last night's supper: the queen's pages and lacquayes waited att the table; the meate was plentiful, of three courses, butt of no great variety, nor well dressed, butt much after the french mode; store of beefe, severall wayes dressed, both now and att supper.

22. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him, that the queen held her resolution of giving him audience to-morrow att two a'clocke in the afternoone.

The master of the ceremonies, uppon an intimation from the queen (who had heard of the passage about the health) being now become more courteous and quiett, and free from drinking healths to Whitelocke; he thought it not fitt to waive him, butt to interest him also (to whom it properly belonged) in the buisnes of his publike audience, which was readily undertaken by the master, and an answer brought by him from the queen to the same effect as Lagerfeldt had done.

The master and Lagerfeldt also agreed in informing Whitelocke of the ceremonies to be used by him, and which were punctually observed; and that it was the constant course of all ambassadors heer, if they spake to the queen in their own language (as Whitelocke said he intended to doe) to have an interpreter; for which end, Whitelocke gave his speech to Mr. de la Marche, one of his chapleins, to putt the same into french, and to peruse it carefully; that being thus acquainted with the whole of it, he might be the better able to interpret it after Whitelocke's speaking to the queen,

The

The dinner was hastened, bicause of the audience in the 1653. afternoon ; the master of the ceremonies, with two of the ^{Dec. 23.} senators, Bonde and Vanderlin, came to Whitelocke's lodging with two of the queen's rich coaches, and about twelve of her lacquays : Whitelocke mett them att his doore, and, according to the custom of their countrey, gave them the precedence in his own lodging up to his bed-chamber, where being sate, they told him, that they were commaunded by the queen to conduct him to his audience, and they believed that her majesty was ready to receive him ; he said, he was ready to accompany them ; and att his going out, Whitelocke was in this equipage.

Att his gate stood his porter in a gowne of grey cloth, laced with gardes of blew velvet between edges of gold and silver lace, two in a seame, his long staffe, with a silver head, in his hand.

The liveryes of his coachmen and postilions were buffe doublets, laced with the same lace, the sleeves of their doublets thicke and rownd laced, their breeches and cloakes of grey cloth, with the like laces.

His twelve lacquayes, proper men, had their liveryes of the same with the coachmen ; and the winges of their coates very thick laced with the like laces.

The liveryes of his four pages were blew sattin doublets, and grey cloth trunke breeches, laced with the same lace, very thicke, the cloakes up to the cape, and lined with blew plush ; their stockings long, of blew filke.

His two trumpets in the like liveryes.

The

1653. The gentlemen attendants, officers, and servants of his
 house, were handsomely accoutred, and every man with his
 Dec. 23. sword by his side.

The gentlemen of the first ranke were nobly and richly habited, who spared for no cost in honor to their country, and to their friend ; and their persons, and most of the others, were such as graced their habiliments.

His secretary, for the credit of his master, had putt himselfe into a rich habit. .

Whitelocke himselfe was plaine, butt extraordinary rich in his habit, though without any gold or silver lace or imbroidery ; his suite was of blacke english cloth, of an exceeding fine sort, the cloake lined with the same cloth, and that and the suit sett with very fayre rich diamond buttons, his hat-band of diamonds answearable ; and all of the value of 1000 l.

Thus accoutred, with the senators, they took their coaches ; Whitelocke's two coaches, with some of the gentlemen, went first ; after them, one of the queen's coaches, with some more of the gentlemen ; and last, was the queen's other coach, the senators, master of the ceremonies, and Whitelocke in it.

In the great court of the castle, att the entry uppon the bridge, was a guard of 100 musquaters, with their officer ; they made a lane crosse the court. Whitelocke alighted att the foot. of the stayres, where was Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne, nephew to the ricks chancellor, the house marshall, or steward of the queen's house, with his baston, or marshall's staffe of silver in his hand, and many officers and servants

servants of the queen ; he was a senator, a civill and well fashioned gentleman. He complemented Whitelocke in french, bid him wellcome to court, and promised his readiness to doe him service. Whitelocke returned his gratefull acceptance of his civilities, and the honor he had by this occasion of being knowne to his excellence ; they went up two payre of stone stayres in this order :

First the gentlemen and officers of the queen, bare headed ; after them, Whitelocke's gentlemen attendants, and of his bed-chamber, with the inferior officers of his house ; then followed his gentlemen of the first ranke ; after them, his two sons, then the master of the ceremonies, after him the two senators, then the house marshall, after him Whitelocke, whom his secretary and chapleins followed, and then his pages lacquayes, and other liverymen.

The queen's lacquays carryed torches ; and when they had mounted many stayres they came into a large hall, many people being in the way, from thence into a great chamber, where prince Adolphe, brother to the prince heretier of the crown, then grand master, or high steward of Sweden, mett Whitelocke : and it was observed, that he had not done that honor to any ambassador before.

Some complements passed between his highnes and Whitelocke in french ; the prince bad him wellcome to court ; Whitelocke acknowledged his happynes to know so noble a prince, and thanked him for his letters, and the accomodations of his journey, especially within his highnes's government, by his favour to a stranger.

The prince sayd, that the queen had commaunded her officers to take care for his accomodations, which he

1653. doubted had not bin such as was fitt for him, and desired
 Dec. 23. his excuse for his ill treatement. After many complements
 and ceremonies they past on, Whitelocke uppon the right
 hand of the prince, who conducted him to another chamber,
 where stood a guard of the queen's partizans in livery
 coates, richly imbroydered with gold; in the next roome
 beyond that, which was large and fayre, was the queen
 herselfe; the roome was richly hung with cloth of Arras, in
 the midst of it great candlestickes full of waxe lights, be-
 sides a great number of torches.

He perceived the queen sitting att the upper end of the
 roome, uppon her chayre of state of crimson velvet, with a
 canopy of the same over it; some ladyes stood behind the
 queen, and a very great number of lords, officers, and
 gentlemen of her court, filled the roome; uppon the foot
 carpet, and neer the queen, stood the senators, and other
 great officers, all uncovered; and none butt persons of
 quality were admitted into that chamber. Whitelocke's
 gentlemen were all lett in, and a lane made by them for
 him to passe thorough to the queen.

As soon as he came within this roome, he putt of his
 hatt, and then the queen putt of her cappe, after the fashion
 of men, and came two or three steppes forward uppon the
 foot carpet; this, and her being covered, and rising from
 her seate, caused Whitelocke to know her to be the queen,
 which otherwise had not bin easy to be discerned, her habit
 being of plaine grey stuffe, her petticoate reached to the
 ground, over that a jackedt such as men weare, of the same
 stuffe, reaching to her knees; on her left side, tyed with
 crimson ribbon, she wore the jewell of the order of *Ama-*
ranta, her cuffes ruffled a la mode, no gorgett or band,
 butt a blacke skarfe about her neck tyed before with a
 blacke

blacke ribbon, as soldiers and marriners somtimes use to weare ; her hayre was breaded, and hung loose uppon her head ; she wore a black velvet cappe lined with fables, and turned up, after the fashion of the countrey, which she used to putt off and on as men doe their hattes. 1653.
Dec. 23.

Her countenance was sprightly, butt fomewhat pale ; she had much of majesty in her demeanor, and though her person were of the smaller size, yett her mienne and carryage was very noble.

Whitelocke made his three congees, came up to her and kissed her hand, which ceremony all ambassadors used to this queen ; then she putt on her cappe, making a ceremony to Whitelocke, who also putt on his hatte, then calling to his secretary, tooke of him his credentialls, and putting off his hatte (att which the queen also pulled off her cappe) Whitelocke told her in english (which Mr. de la Marche interpreted in french) that the parlement had commaunded him to present those letters to her majesty : she took them with great civility, and read their superscription, butt did not then open them.

After some pawze, Whitelocke began and spake to the queen in english, Mr. de la Marche, by his appointment, interpreting every sentence as he spake it, in french, which was desired from Whitelocke, and alledged to be the constant practice of that court.

The queen was very attentive whilst he spake, and coming up close to him, by her looks and gestures (as was supposed) would have daunted him ; butt those who have bin conversant in the late great affayres in England, are not so soon as others appaled, with the presence of a young

1653. lady and her servants. Att the time of speaking, both the
 queen and Whitelocke were uncovered, and whensoever he
 Dec. 23. in his speech had occasion to use ceremony, the queen answered it with her courtesy.

Whitelocke's speech follows :

“ Madame,

“ By commaund of my superiors, the parlement of the
 “ common-wealth of England, I doe, with all respect,
 “ salute your majesty, which had bin sooner done, if, by
 “ extraordinary accidents and engagements, in the settling
 “ of three nations, with no few forein diversions, it had
 “ not bin retarded.

“ And although the common-wealth of England are
 “ not encouraged to send abroad, when they reflect uppon
 “ the barbarous usage of their messengers in some places ;
 “ yett your majesty perceives that from your government,
 “ neither our masters, nor their servants, have the least
 “ suspicion of any such intertainment ; butt we who are
 “ heer, doe gratefully acknowledge our experience of respect and civility to our nation.

“ My buisnes is to communicate with your majesty in
 “ matters relating to the common good, which is of such
 “ weight, that it admits no hopes of successe, without his
 “ speciall blessing who by smalle meanes can bring great
 “ things to passe ; the confidence wherof, with my submission to the judgement and commaund of my superiors,
 “ hath given me this honor of being in your majesty's
 “ presence.

“ Whom

" Whom I shall not weary with many wordes, or ex- 1653.
 " pressions, beyond meaning. I am not sent hither for that
 " cause, and it is as different from my own spirit, as con- Dec. 23-
 " trary to the practise and commaunds of my superiors;
 " from whom, and from their servant (according to the
 " english reality) your majesty will find all manner of plain-
 " ness and truth in our transactions.

" Our deliverances and preservations (wherof we have
 " bin eye wittneses) have bin so neer to miracles, and such
 " monuments of infinite rich mercy from heaven, that we
 " should sin against them, if the least guile or unfaithfull-
 " nes should infect our conversation.

" It is not my worke to painte out my own countrey,
 " or to draw black lines uppon any (though our adverša-
 " ries) neither shall I take uppon me to mention the ex-
 " cellencies of your majestye's person and government, or
 " of your people and countryes, least I should injure any
 " merit; and bicause I speake to them, whom God hath
 " favoured with the injoyment of those great mercyes; the
 " increase and continuance wherof is heartily desired by
 " my superiors, and by me, their servant.

" I shall not enlarge my discourse with observations con-
 " cerning both nations, of their likenes in language,
 " lawes, manners, and warlike dispositions; arguments
 " more natural then artificiall for a neerer union: butt this
 " I may not omit (the fruits wherof I have tasted) the pro-
 " sent happy government under your majesty, which re-
 " members unto us those blessed dayes of our virgin qucen
 " Elizabeth, under whom, above forty years, the people
 " injoyed all protection and justice from their prince, and
 " she, all obediece and affection from her people.

1653. " May this, and more be the portion of your majesty
 Dec. 23. " and your successors ; nor had it bin lost in those who fol-
 " lowed queen Elizabeth, butt through their own ill go-
 " vernement.

" When attempts were made to ravish from us our
 " highest interest, the orthodoxe religion and just liberty,
 " (the defence wherof undertaken by king Gustavus Adol-
 " phus, your majestye's royall father of blessed memory,
 " in this german expedition for the protestants reliefe, was
 " in him most honorable and successfull, and surely for
 " us, was most just and necessary, and crowned alike,
 " with gracious successe by the Almighty) for the extirpa-
 " tion of both which, by force (which had long bin at-
 " tempted otherwise) auxiliaries were provided, and after-
 " wards a warre rayfed ; butt first appearing in Scotland,
 " and there diligently resisted, and the English refusing to
 " be instrumentall against Scotland for those ends, the
 " storme was then blown over.

" In Ireland it arose so hideous, that 200,000 poore
 " creatures, men, women, and children (besides what the
 " war there devoured) were in cold blood barbarously
 " murdered, for no other butt bicause they were pro-
 " testants.

" In England it brake out in all parts, from one corner
 " of the land to another ; not a place, not a family free
 " from the rage of our decenniall, more then civill war.

" And yett after so much blood poured forth, we blesse
 " God we live ; and after so many devastations, a stranger
 " passing through our countrey hardly can espye the
 " steppes of it: our good God hath given us in England,
 " Scotland,

“ Scotland, and Ireland, and all the adjacent isles and territories of the common-wealth, a full and happy peace. 1653.
Dec. 23.

“ In all appeales to him (wherof we have seen many)
“ he was pleased still to determine for the parlement: and
“ after these, and eight tenders and treatyes of peace,
“ wherin we received the denyall, it pleased the gracious,
“ and all-disposing hand of God, for the good of England,
“ to change the government therof. Nevertheless, the same
“ common interest which first begatt former alliances, and
“ confederacyes between the two nations, doe still continue,
“ and oblige both to indeavor the good of each
“ other.

“ Wherunto they seem the more ingaged, bicause we
“ cannot find, that in any age there hath bin a declared
“ war between them; butt a constant intercourse of friendship
“ and amity, with mutuall offices of kindnes, out of
“ which great profit and happynes hath redounded unto
“ both.

“ These things being considered, with the affayres of
“ Christendome, and especially with the neighbouring
“ princes and states, through divine providence, in such
“ posture and condition, as to give greater opportunity,
“ and lay stronger obligations uppon both these nations,
“ to intertain a neerer union and correspondence then
“ heertofore; wherby the commerce and tranquility of
“ both may be preserved and provided for, with respect
“ also to the common interest and concernement of the
“ true protestant religion; and your majesty having, by
“ your late publique ministers to England, signified your
“ royall inclinations and willingnes, by all good means, to
“ con-

1653. “conserve and increase the antient good understanding
 between these states :
 Dec. 23.

“ Uppon these, and other weighty considerations, and
 “ to show how acceptable the former overtures of your
 “ majesty have bin, the parlement have thought fitt, by
 “ me, to make tender unto your majesty of the friend-
 “ ship of the common-wealth of England ; and to lett you
 “ know, that they are not only ready to renew and pre-
 “ serve, inviolably, that amity and good correspondence,
 “ which hath hitherto bin between the two nations, butt
 “ are further willing to enter into a more strict alliance
 “ and union then hath as yett bin, for the good of both,
 “ and in such a way as shall be held requisite. I shall be
 “ ready more perticularly to communicate what I have in
 “ charge for this purpose.”

The queen stood still a pretty while after Whitelocke had
 done speaking, and then stepping neer unto him, with a
 countenance and gesture full of confidence, spirit, and ma-
 jesty, yett mixt with great civility, and a good grace, she
 answered Whitelocke presently in the swedish language ;
 and every sentence, as she spake it, was interpreted, in
 latin by Mr. Lagerfeldt to this effect :

“ My lord ambaffador,

“ We esteem it a very great honor, that the parlement
 “ of England hath bin pleased to send an ambaffador to us,
 “ especially a person of your condition ; and we shall take
 “ care (as we hold ourselves obliged by this respect, and
 “ by the duety of our government) that during your
 “ abode in our dominions, not the least injury shall be
 “ offered, either to yourselfe, or to any of your retinue ;
 “ and

“ and wee hope there shall be no cause to doubt of the 1653.
 “ contrary.

~~~~~  
 Dec. 23.

“ And as your person is very acceptable to us, so is the  
 “ buisnes which you have imparted, in the transaction wher-  
 “ of, we shall manifest the affection which we beare to the  
 “ common-wealth of England, and our desires, not only  
 “ to renew former alliances between the two nations, butt  
 “ to enter into a neerer union then heertofore.

“ We are glad that your common-wealth hath received  
 “ those blessings of peace and settlement, and doe wish the  
 “ continuance therof; and that you may not agayne be  
 “ disquieted, after so long and dangerous troubles, wherin  
 “ you have suffered.

“ And, sir, we must give you thanks for your civili-  
 “ ties to us, and for your acceptance of such intertain-  
 “ ment as this place affordes; butt we are sorry, that it  
 “ could not be in a more convenient place both for me and  
 “ you, and that it was not answeareable to your quality,  
 “ and to the respect which we doe beare to the common-  
 “ wealth, whom you serve. Butt we desire you to take  
 “ it in good part, and doe assure you, that you are very  
 “ wellcome to our court.”

After the queen had done speaking, Whitelocke deliver-  
 ed to Lagerfeldt, for the queen, coppies of his speech in  
 english, french, and latin, and then he spake to the queen  
 (as he was advised, in french) to this effect: “ That heer  
 were two of his sons, and other gentlemen of quality, who  
 did much desire the honor to kisse her majesty’s hand.”  
 She presently stepped forward, and gave her hand first to  
 his sons, and after them to sixteen more of the gentlemen of



1653. his company, as they were presented by Whitelocke; and  
 she shewed great civility, courtesying to every one of  
 Dec. 23. them..

After that ceremony past, the queen spake to Whitelocke in french, desiring him to excuse his ill treatment, both in the way; and in this place: those parts of the country where he travayled being farre of, she said, were not provided for the intertainment of such a person as he was, and so attended; and that she was sorry this place would not afforde such accomodations as were fitt for him; and she wished, that she might have intertained him att Stockholm, where it would have bin better..

Whitelocke answered in french, "That he was sorry for the occasion of her majesty's remove from Stockholm; that, nevertheless, by her favour, he had received very noble intertainment att Upsale; for which he returned his humble thanks; that wheresoever her majesty was, his buisnes lay, of waiting on her; and acknowledged it his happines and honor to have the opportunity of accessse to her; and, therefore, did not esteem his journey tedious: that in the way, and in this place, he had injoyed many testimonies of her majesty's respects and favours, for which he returned thanks, and should make it known to his superiors."

Then the queen excused her habit, saying, "That she had bin ill, which caused her to putt herselfe into the dresse of her chamber, in which she chose to appeare thus publicly, rather then to disappoint him of the time of his audience; that she hoped they should have opportunity, and time sufficient, to discourse att large together."

Uppom

Upon this, Whitelocke tooke his leave, and her majesty  
used much courtesy to him and his company.

1653.  
Dec. 23.

He was conducted back to his lodgings, with the like ceremonies as he was brought to court ; the ricks marshall, and Vanderlin, senators, supped with him, it being the usage for senators to eate with an ambassador the last meate only of his intertainment.

They excused their not beginning of an health to the ambassador and his superiors, according to the manner of their countrey, bicause they understood his judgement to be against it, and therefore, and not for want of respect, they did forbear it.

Whitelocke acknowledged his judgement to be so, and thanked them for their civility of not offering what was so contrary to it, and permitting him (as was reasonable) to enjoy his own liberty.

After a long supper (which was the lesse tedious because the queen's musick played and sung excellently well all the time of it) the senators, and master of the ceremonies, took their leaves of Whitelocke.

The queen's intertainment being now att an end, and Whitelocke therby become master of his own time, and a little more att rest, he thought uppon his buisnes, and to cast and designe how he might best prosecute the same ; and with most advantage therunto, to make use of all persons resorting to him, and to whom he went, to informe himselfe of the queen's disposition and inclination to his superiors ; of what principles she was as to the affayres of England, wherein lay her dissatisfaction and objections,

H h 2

what

1653. what wayes were most likely to remove them, uppon whose judgement she did most relye, what manner of conversation and discourse was most pleasing to her, what power she had as queen, and how restrained by any laws, counsell, or interest of great men.

Dec. 24.

Who were most trusted by her, whose counsell most followed, what ambassadors and forein ministers were now in her court, what their buisnes was, how farre prosecuted, how likely to succeed, what relation of them to England, how their masters were affected to our common-wealth, and what repute they had in this court.

Heer he found an ambassador from the king of Denmarke, who was att enmity with England; and he heard of a gentleman now heer, who was of great abilities and alliance in Denmarke, forced to flye from his countrey to avoyd the anger of his king: with this person he designed a friendship, that he might by him understand the state of Denmarke, and counterworke the danish ambassador, who was no friend to this gentleman.

Heer was a resident from the king of France, with whom he designed an acquaintance, and civill deportment towards him; and to gett one intimate with him, from whom he might understand his transactions; which he afterwards effected by a swedish gentleman.

The like he designed for getting intelligence of the proceedings of the dutch resident, and afterwards effected, though himselfe could have no converse with this resident, their superiors being in open warre.

French

Touching the publique ministers heere from the emperor, 1653.  
 from Russia, and from Poland, he did not much trouble  
 himselfe. Dec. 24.

Butt before all others he designed, and obtained, an intimate acquaintance, and familiarity, with Piementelle, envoyee extraordinary from the king of Spayne, whom he understood, and found, to be a gentleman of excellent parts and ingenuity, and in very great favour with the queen heer; and his master, an early and good friend to the common-wealth of England, butt not to Holland.

He designed also, and gained acquaintance and respect with Grave Tott, the queen's favourite, a gallant young gentleman, and full of civility to Whitelocke; and with the senators, Bond, Vanderlin, Grave Erick Oxenstierna the chancellor's son, the ricks droitset, and chancellor, not yett come to town, and others; and he made great use and furtherance of his buisnes by their acquaintance and assistance.

He sett one to worke about the buying of brasse ordnance, according to his instructions, butt could gett none ready made; and it would be too long to stay the making of them: wherof he gave an account to the counsell.

His audience being past, he sent to visit the spanish ambassador, for so they stiled him in this court, and gave him the title of excellence, being governor of Newport, in Flanders; and Whitelocke would not doe lesse to him then others.

The spanish ambassador likewise sent to Whitelocke, to know if he would be within this afternoon, to give him  
 leave

1653. leave to visit him ; which is the custom in forein parts, not  
 Dec. 24. to make a visit to any one, without first sending to him to  
 know if he should be att leisure. Whitelocke returned his  
 desire of seeing the ambassador.

Who being come, was mett by Whitelocke att his doore,  
 and (as the use is) had the precedence given him : he used  
 many high complements to the person of Whitelocke, of  
 whom (he said) he had often heard before, &c. and of the  
 common-wealth of England, he protested a most high re-  
 gard and veneration ; and that his master, the king of  
 Spayne, had more then ordinary affection and respect for  
 them.

Whitelocke gave him thanks for his civility in sending  
 to meet him, and inquiring of his health att his arrivall  
 heer, and remembered the testimonies that the king of  
 Spayn had given of his affections to the common-wealth of  
 England, being the first prince who acknowledged the par-  
 lament ; and said he had heard so much of the worth and  
 honor of this ambassador, and of his acquaintance heer,  
 that Whitelocke was ambitious to be known to him, and to  
 be in his favor.

*Piem.* replied, I have bin some time in this court, and  
 injoyed much of the queen's favor ; and if therby I may be  
 serviceable to your excellence, or to your buisnes, I shall  
 be glad of it.

*Wh.* I doe much rejoyce that her majesty's favors are  
 so worthily placed, and hope that it may be of advantage  
 to me.

*Piem.*

*Piem.* What course doe you intend to take for procuring 1653.  
your audiences.

Dec. 24.

*Wh.* The master of the ceremonies adviseth, that I must  
goe by way of memoire to the secretary of state.

*Piem.* With submission to him, to whose office it doth  
belong, I apprehend that way to be about, and not so  
agreeable as to desire private audiences from the queen  
herselfe.

*Wh.* Did your excellencie use that way?

*Piem.* I tooke that course in all my buisnes, and it suc-  
ceeded well, and was best liked by the queen.

*Wh.* When doth your excellencie suppose I may, with  
civility, desire a private audience?

*Piem.* I am confident, that if your excellencie desire to  
have a private audience to-morrow, though Christmas day,  
the queen will give it you.

Whitelocke was glád to heare the Spanyard of this opi-  
nion, butt resolved not to desire an audience on that festi-  
vall day, which was so solemnly observed heer; butt thought  
it might be helpfull to his proceedings to gett into an inti-  
mate friendship with this gentleman, which he began att  
this time, when they had very much and free discourse  
together, both of the queen, and of her court and servants::  
and Whitelocke gayned much from him, and afterwards  
improved his acquaintance and interest with this gentle-  
man by civilities, and frequent conversation, to the great  
advantage of his buisnes, by the extraordinary favour of  
this

1653. this ambassador with her majesty, and consequently with  
 her servants.  
 Dec. 24.

25. *On this Lord's day, being Christmas day, Whitelocke had prayer and sermons in his house, butt most of his company went abroad to observe the manner of the celebration of this day heer: and he learned, that their prayers, and divine service, were much after the manner of the english common prayer booke, in the lessons, epistles, gospels, prayers, second service, responfalls, and administration of the sacrament; and neer the same words as in our *litturgy*, for baptisme, marryages, churchings, and visiting the sicke, and buryalls.*

That their ministers in countrey parishes are not generally very learned, nor studious; butt many of them, having made or provided a book of sermons, fuitable to the severall holydayes, and for every Lord's day, they say or reade one of these sermons uppon the day for which it was made; and when the yeare begins agayne, they also begin agayne their booke of sermons, and before they come to the last, the first is forgot, and becomes as new the next yeare.

Butt in this university of Upsale, and in divers other places, they have both bishops, superintendents, and ministers in the inferior clergye, who are men of great learning, and hard students, and pious men; and such are had in great veneration by the people, and carry a great sway with their neighbors and parishioners: butt their means is not liberall, the archbishop's revenue of this place being reckoned butt 2000 ricks dollars yearly, which is about 500 l. a year of our money; the other bishops lesse; and few of their parish ministers have above 40 or 50 l. a year,  
 6 their

their parishes, though very large, yett not being populous, 1653.  
nor much manured.

Dec. 25.

They have a good way of choosing their ministers in every parish; and they live lovingly with the people, sometimes to the giving of bad example, even to debauchery, att their feastings and times of jollity.

In the cathedrall church heer, they come too neer the fashion of the popish churches for crucifixes, images, coapes, surplices, and the like; and in the manner of their chaunting of service, and with ceremonies fetched from the usages of that church, and not yett reformed; butt in the queen's chappell they had not those ceremonies, not so much as the surplice. They are much pleased with musicke in their churches, and that in the queen's chappell (which some of Whitelocke's people who were able to judge of it, heard this day) they commended to be excellent good; and they noted, that in the queen's chappell the musick played in the time of divine service and of administering the sacrament.

By the master of the ceremonies Whitelocke procured a private audience appointed by the queen to be this day, and was brought to the court with three or four of the queen's rich coaches, attended by many of her lacquays with torches: in the presence chamber he was mett by Grave Tott, the queen's favourite, and captain of her guard, who brought him into a fayre withdrawing-roome, where the queen was alone; her habit of black velvet, of the same fashion as att the audience.

They were there alone together, and the doors were shutt; Whitelocke began to speake to the queen in french, to this effect.



1653. *Wh.* Madame, I desired this audience for an opportunity  
 ~~~~~ to returne my thanks to your majesty for the honor you  
 Dec. 26. have bin pleased to shew me, and for the favours I have received from your majesty in my journey, and in my intertainment and publique audience heer.

Queen. Your accomodations in your journey and your intertainment heer have not bin such as I desired, nor could these places afford what was fitt for you ; and I desire you to excuse it, and be assured of a hearty wellcome to my court.

Wh. Madame, what I intimated att my publique audience in the generall, I am ready to give your majesty a particular accompt of it ; and do hope that it will be for the good of both nations.

Qu. I believe the same, and am ready to intertaine an alliance with the common-wealth of England. The buisnes is of very great weight and consequence, and therefore requires good consideration and advice. I am att present in a condition of quiett and peace ; and how farre I should involve myselfe in troubles, is very considerable.

Wh. Your majesty is best able to judge whither an alliance with England will not adde to your security, there being designs abroad against your majesty as well as others.

Qu. I believe there are, and that an alliance with England will be of advantage to us ; butt, sir, have you any other authority for such a buisnes, besides the letters you brought to us.

Wh.

Wh. Madame, I have a commission under the great seale 1653. of England, which I have brought with me to shew to your ^{Dec. 26.} majesty.

Qu. I pray lett us read it together.

Wh. I see your majesty understands the latin perfectly, and will find heer sufficient authority given me for this buisnes,

Qu. I have latin enough to serve my turne, and the authority given to you is very full. Uppon what perticulars will the parlement thinke fitt to ground the alliance between the two nations?

Wh. If your majesty please I shall present you with the perticulars in writing, in french or latin, as you shall commaund.

Qu. It will be best in latin, bicause I shall take advice in it.

Wh. I shall doe it as your majesty directs.

Qu. Your generall is one of the gallantest men in the world; never were such things done as by the English in your late war. Your generall hath done the greatest things of any man in the world; the prince of Conde is next to him, butt short of him. I have as great a respect and honor for your generall, as for any man alive; and I pray, lett him know as much from me.

1653. *Wh.* My generall is indeed a very brave man; his actions
 Dec. 26. showit : and I shall not fayle to signify to him the great
 honor of your majesty's respects to him; and I assure your
 majesty, he hath as high honor for you as for any prince in
 Christendome.

Qu. I have bin told that many officers of your army will
 themselves pray and preach to their foldiers; is that true?

Wh. Yes, madame, it is very true. When ther ennemies
 are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging: the officers and
 foldiers of the parlement's army use to be incouraging and
 exhorting one another out of the word of God, and pray-
 ing together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with
 them; who hath showed his approbation of this military
 preaching, by the successes he hath given them.

Qu. That's well. Doe you use to doe so too?

Wh. Yes; uppon some occasions, in my own family: and
 thinke it as proper for me, being the master of it, to ad-
 monish and speake to my people when there is cause; as to
 be beholding to another to doe it for me, which sometimes
 brings the chaplein into more credit then his lord.

Qu. Doth your generall, and other great officers do so?

Wh. Yes, madame, very often, and very well. Never-
 theless they maintaine chapleins and ministers in their houses,
 and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers
 have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as
 in any place of Christendome. Yett 'tis the opinion of many
 good men with us, that a long cassake, with a filke girdle,
 and a great beard, do not make a learned or good preacher;
 without

without gifts of the spirit of God, and labouring in his vineyard: and whosoever studies the holy scripture, and is enabled to doe good to the souls of others, and indeavours the same, is no where forbidden by that word, nor is it blameable.

The officers and soldiers of the parlement held it not unlawfull, when they carryed their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to incourage one another out of his word who commands over all: and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have; and was never denyed to be made use of butt by the popish prelates, who, by no meanes would admit lay people (as they call them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can no where else be found.

Qa. Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon. I assure you I like it very well.

Wh. Madame, I shall account it a great happines if any of my words may please you.

Qs. Indeed, sir, these words of yours doe very much please me; and I shall be glad to heare you oftener on this strayne. Butt I pray tell me, where did your generall, and you his officers learne this way of praying and preaching yourselves?

Wh. We learnt it from a neer friend of your majesty, whose memory all the protestant interest hath cause to honor.

Qu. My friend! who was that?

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* It was your father, the great king Gustavus Adolphus,
 who, upon his first landing in Germany (as many then present have testified) did himselfe in person upon the shoare, on his knees, give thanks to God for his safe landing, and before his soldiers himselfe prayed to God for his blessing upon that undertaking; and he would frequently exhort his people out of God's word: and God testified his good liking therof, by the wonderfull successes he was pleased to vouchsafe to that gallant king.

Dec. 26.

To this, the queen made no further reply: butt as her manner was, sometimes she would discourse of the english wars, and sometimes of the present treaty; and fall out of one matter into another, full of variety and pleasant intermixt discourses.

She was very inquisitive to know from Whitelocke the state of the warre between England and the dutch: he gave her a full account therof, and told her, that she should find nothing butt truth in what he related to her.

She then discoursed of all the battles and passages between the king and parlement, and of the treatyes, wherein she had bin largely informed; butt with divers mistakes, to the disadvantage of the parlement: and Whitelocke having bin sufficiently versed in those matters, gave her a full and true relation of them, respecting the mistakes; and she seemed much satisfied therewith, saying, that she never had bin truly and clearly informed of those affayres untill now. She likewise inquired of Scotland, Ireland, and of the buisnes of the Highlanders, and concerning Cromwell, Fairfax, and most of the officers of the parlement's armyes and navyes; concerning all which, Whitelocke gave her a full account.

Then

Then she inquired of the buisnes of Worcester; wherof ^{1653.}
 Whitelocke gave her a cleer relation, and of the forces on ^{Dec. 26.}
 each side, of Cromwell's speedy marches, of the parlement's
 quick supplyes and additionall forces, and of pertieular
 actions in the ingagement, which he tooke care to doe with-
 out injury to any party, giving all of them their due:
 the queen seemed to wonder att it, and to receive much
 contentment in the relation.

She then asked what personall actions the king of Scotts
 performed in that ingagement? Whitelocke said, that the
 king was in person, both in the field and in the towne, in the
 hottest ingagement, and expressed good courage and con-
 duct; and when, by the fortune of the war, his men left
 him, he was forced to leave the towne.

This audience lasted above two howers, not any person
 coming in; or knocking all that time, to interrupt them. They
 stood, and walked up and downe the roome all the while,
 which made Whitelocke very weary, being lame. Yett att
 the time in discourse with such a princeffe, and uppon such
 high matters (like a wounded man when he is hott) he felt
 not the payne; butt felt it afterwards.

The young men, schollars of the univerfity of Upsale,
 ambitious to publish their learning, and how farre it did ex-
 tend, even to the knowledge of remote english, and to
 testify their affection to that nation; many of them came to
 Whitelocke's house, and presented him with greek, latin,
 and english verses, sett out with flourishes in a table of
 parchment, adorned with ribbons, and a high swelling title,
 " To the most illustrious, &c. B. W. Jupiter and Mars, be-
 " ing extraordinarily conjoynd, extraordinary ambaffador,
 " &c."

1653. The english verses for the uncouthnes and variety of them
 are heer only inserted.
 Dec. 26.

One only starre, from east, tree kings did leade :
 Most glorious Mars, and Jupiter, brought you to Swede ;
 Who, doubtlesse, (with) your famous will and wisdome,
 Will knot and (Lock) ours, with your most martiall king-
 dome.

Therefore, no humane craft or policy indeavour
 To breake that which cœlestiall signs doth favour.
 Then will we daunt all Europe's stoutest hearts,
 Ledde by your great Neptune, Jupiter, and Mars.
 Thus doe we, the literal flower of this most glorious aca-
 demy,
 With hearts imbrace whom heaven sent; and prayse your
 famous excellency.

Some of the schollars spake to Whitelocke in good latin ;
 and he answered, and treated them with all kindnes and civi-
 lity : and after discourses in latin, Whitelocke offered to dis-
 course with them also in that language, which they had
 honoured by their verses in english ; butt they would not
 adventure uppon it. He returned them the most acceptable
 thankses, a gratuity in money to buy them some bookes,
 which was cheerfully received; and so the schollars were
 dismissed.

Whitelocke sent to visit the spanish resident, to know if
 he should be at leisure to-morrow to admit a visit from him ;
 and the like message he sent to prince Adolphe : and both
 returned civill answers, and that they should be glad of
 the honor to see the english ambassador.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke made his first visit to prince Adolphe, who ^{1653.} ^{Dec. 27.} discoursed much with him of England, and of the late troubles there ; and his highnes did much extoll both the countrey and people of England, and fell into a large discourse of the english horses, and wondered how they could indure so long a voyage and journey att that time, as those did which Whitelocke brought with him, and prayfed them, even to a desire of having some of them bestowed on him : butt Whitelocke was not so young a courtier, as to passe the complement of their being att his highness's service, lest he might be taken att his word.

English horses (especially for the pad) are of great esteem heer : their own are generally of a smalle breed, and trotters ; they are somewhat like our welsh and scottish nagges. The queen and some great lords have a breed of large and handsome horses, butt not many of them ; most of their horses for the coach and sledde, and for war, are brought out of Germany or Denmarke, where they have store of good ones ; butt none for beauty, mettle, and service beyond the english.

The prince inquired much of the service of our english horses in our late warres, and if they were not a great advantage to the party that had most of them.

Whitelocke told him, that England bred plenty of good horses, and they had many thousand of them in the late war on both sides ; and the horsemen were as good soldiers as any in the world, yett gave the lesse advantage to their party, bicause the english infantry were much beyond the foote in other countryes, who maintained not their foot in such pay, and clothes, and courage as the english did ; who had them in such esteem, as the chiefe strength in

1653. the battle, that the english kings used to place themselves,
 and fight among the footmen: yett their horse were ex-
 Dec. 27. cellent good, and most of them gentlemen and persons of
 consideration.

The prince fell into a discourse of the hunting and hawking in England, which he had heard the english gentry much delighted in, and had those sports farre exceeding other places; which Whitelocke acknowledged, and was able to describe the manner of it to the prince, who was much delighted therewith: and then he extolled the civility and gallantry of Whitelocke's followers, and of the english nation in generall, and received answerable complements from Whitelocke as to his highness's person and countrymen.

From the prince, Whitelocke went and visited the spanish ambassador, who was a gentleman of great parts and ingenuity, and of a very civill deportment; his favour with the queen was so great, that she afforded him lodgings in her own court in the castle; he was handsomly attended by a retinue, not numerous, butt of well chosen persons.

His chaplein was a prior, a man of excellent parts, witt, and behaviour; he spake fluently, besides spanish, the latin, french, and high dutch, and was very learned: in whose company and discourse Whitelocke took much pleasure, and the more because he never mentioned any thing of religion that might cause dispute.

His secretary was a very gentle man, had good language and abilities; besides him, he had butt one other gentleman of quality, and the groomes of his chamber, two pages, four lacquays, cooks, butlers, coachman, postilian, all handsome men, and well habited and civilized. In his discourse

he wished all good successe to Whitelocke and his buisnes: 1653.
 and acquainted him, that the hollanders were then in treaty ^{Dec. 27.}
 for a league between them and France and Denmark, and it
 was to be against Spayne and England; butt nothing said of
 the queen of Sweden.

Whitelocke asked if the queen were not sensible that it
 would concerne her, though she were not mentioned in it.
 He said, the queen thought it did reflect more upon her then
 upon Spayne or England, who were named. Whitelocke
 said, she might take it as if they held her unworthy to be
 named.

They agreed with much mutuall respect, upon a friend-
 ship between these two publique ministers, as being much
 upon the same interest and principles, and to assist one
 another all they could, and to communicate intelligences.

Piementelle made an overture, that an union between
 Spayne, England, and Sweden, would be of great advan-
 tage to all of them; to which Whitelocke thought fitter to
 give a generall, then any punctuall answer.

Piementelle fell into a high commendation of the queen,
 of her singular parts and abilities for government and pub-
 lique affayres, excelling all women, and scarce giving place
 therin to any man that he ever mett with; and that she was
 of an admirable spirit and courage beyond her sexe, well
 skilled for military affayres, and as fitt as possibly a woman
 could be to leade an army. This was seconded by White-
 locke, as farre as his knowledge could enable him; and he
 thought fitt not to be silent in this argument, touching a
 a princeesse in whose court they both were.

1653. Att his returne home, he found some of those gentlemen
 still there, who had favoured him with their company att
 Dec. 27. dinner ; the master of the ceremonies, Mr. Lillycrone, the
 syndick, Mr. Couper, Mr. Butler, and others.

28. The french resident visited Whitelocke, and among his
 long complements, mentioned the great affection of the
 king his master to the common-wealth of England. White-
 locke answered, that the common-wealth had not att any
 time assisted the ennemyes or rebells of his master, or inter-
 tained them, and therefore deserved his majesty's affection :
 to which the resident made no replye, butt fell into discourse
 of Whitelocke's journey by land, and of the countreyes and
 towns through which he travayled, where the resident sayd
 he had bin, and that three of the largest of those towns must
 be putt together to make one citty ; that it fell out well, that
 the last year was so plentifull, else the people that came with
 Whitelocke would have wanted meate to eate, and straw to
 lye on ; and he highly commended his own countrey (as was
 expected from him) and the accomodations of travaylers
 there ; which gave Whitelocke occasion to doe right to Eng-
 land. The gentleman had butt smalle attendance, and had
 not gayned much experience by seven years residence in this
 court.

Whitelocke answered the visite of Grave Tott, the queen's
 favourite, who offered his service in any addresles to his
 mistris ; and Whitelocke accepted and made use of his cour-
 tesy, which he was the more inabled to afforde, being (as him-
 selfe noted) the first gentleman of her bedchamber ; he was
 a civill handsome young courtier, of good parts and mettle,
 and much of the french mode.

The

The master of the ceremonies being out of town, Whitelocke made use of the favour of Grave Tott, and by him procured a private audience from the queen, to which he went in his own coaches; and in the great chamber Grave Tott mett him, and sayed, he had surpris'd them att court, who intended to have sent the queen's coaches for him, butt he came sooner than they expected; for which Whitelocke asked their pardon, if his earnest desire to have the honor of being in her majesty's presence, might bring him to court att an hower unreasonable. 1653.
Dec. 29.

He was presently admitted into the queen's presence, where two stooles were brought in; and the queen having heard that Whitelocke was lame, she herselfe sate downe, and commanded Whitelocke to sitt by her: she kept of her cappe, and so did Whitelocke all the time of the audience.

Having first intertained her with some newes which he had from England, and concerning the dutch; he then showed her a list of the parlement's fleet for the winter guard, explaining to her the number of men, the severall officers, the burthen of the ships, how many pieces of ordinance each of them carryed, the pay of the men, the provisions of dyett, the stores, ammunition, and the like; of all which she was very inquisitive, and asked him,

Queen. Doe those ships belong to the common-wealth? or to private persons, and are made use of by the state when they have occasion, as att this time?

Wh. They are all the states own ships, built and furnisht att the publique charge, and are sett out for this winter guard only. The state hath many more and greater ships belonging to their navy, which are reserved, and to be fitted for

1653. for the summer guard; besides many others that are repaying, and new building.
Dec. 29.

Qu. This is a gallant navy indeed; I am exceedingly taken with the description of it. I thought no prince or state in the world had had so good a fleet, except the hollanders, who, I believe, have more ships then England.

Wh. The hollanders may have more ships or vessels then England, especially if fisher boates be reckoned; butt for ships of warre, England is not inferior to any other nation. The hollanders take more care for ships of burden, than of force; butt the english merchant ships may be easily converted to able ships of war. The hollanders, till their present sea war with England, had not much occasion for ships of war, being in peace with their neighbors, and the lesse, being uppon the continent; butt for carryage ships (their principall interest being trade) they had as much occasion, and a greater number then any other people. Butt England, Scotland, Ireland, and the dominions of our common-wealth, consisting of islands; our chieftest defence is in our navy, to meet with an ennemy before he lands, and our best bulwarkes are these wooden walles.

Qu. You have reason for what you say; some of these ships of yours would doe good service to open the Sundt. What way doe you thinke fitt to be taken to open and make free the passage therof?

Wh. That must needs be better known to your majesty, who is a neighbor to the place, and much concerned in it, then to me who am a stranger.

Qu. But I desire your opinion in it.

Wh. I

Wh. I doe not thinke it convenient to permit the dane 1653.
and the dutch to lay what exactions they please uppon all the
people of the world, who have occasion to passe that way. Dec. 29.

Qu. It cannot be taken out of their hands butt by force.

Att this word the queen drew her stoole neerer to White-
locke's, and sayd :

Qu. Doe you thinke that the common-wealth of England
will give assistance in that buisnes ?

Wh. Madame, I thinke they will, uppon such just and
honorable terms as may be agreed..

Qu. Doe you thinke they will send any ships for that
purpose ?

Wh. I believe uppon fitt termes they will.

Qu. What would you propose as fitt to be done in the
buisnes ?

Wh. I suppose your majesty doth not expect any proposall
from me in the first place. Butt if you will be pleased to
consider of some proposalls in order to that buisnes, and that
I may have them in writing, I will send them to my superiors,
from whom I shall speedily receive directions therein, agree-
able to the interest of both nations; and a conclusion may
be theruppon had in this buisnes heer.

Qu. Par Dieu ! this is worthy the consideration of both
nations, and doth not only concerne them, butt all the world
besides.

1653. besides. Butt what doe you thinke of the emperor's taking
 Dec. 29. part with the king of Denmarke?

Wh. The buifnes will be chiefly att sea, where the emperor hath no strength. And I believe his imperiall majesty will have no opportunity to molest your majesty's territories in Germany, in regard of his own affayres with the princes and his neighbors.

Qu. Butt he may assist the Dane with money.

Wh. I thinke he hath not much to spare.

Qu. The king of Spayne may lend them money.


Wh. Not against England or Sweden, especially to advance the interest of Holland; though he should have money enough besides for his own many occasions, which I believe he hath not.

Qu. I presume the dutch will come with all their power to assist the Dane chiefly against England, and to hinder their having an interest in the Sundt.

Wh. It concerns them so to do, the rather now, they being in hostility against us, and in alliance with the Dane: butt this is to be expected and provided for; and the buifnes will come the sooner, and the more certainly to an issue.

Qu. Doe you thinke that your common-wealth will send ships enough, and sufficient to incounter with the dutch?

Wh. In all our affayres hitherto, the blessing of God hath bin with our common-wealth; and I doubt not butt that

that our ships, joining with your majesty's, will suffice to 1653.
bring to reason the dane or dutch, in these or any other 
seas. Dec. 29.

Qu. I believe the king of France will assist them.

Wh. His navy is not very formidable, nor frequent, on the Baltick sea; and for land forces, they will have a long march, after they have made an end with the prince of Conde and their old ennemy; nor hath that king much spare money.

Qu. You speake very fully, and truly, of the interest of the severall princes and states of Europe. I do extreamly like the buisnes, and will prepare a memoire of some proposalls concerning it, and give it to you to send into England; butt speed, and vigor, and secrecy are requisite heerin. And I must injoyne you to acquainte no body with this discourse, butt only your generall Cromwell, whose word I shall relye uppon; butt I would not have this matter made knowne to any other whatsoever: and I desire you not to speake of it to any of my own ministers; nor, of any thing else relating to your negotiation, butt what I shall give way unto.

Wh. Madame, I shall faithfully obey your majesty's commaunds, and not reveale any tittle of these matters without your permission.

Qu. Have you not heard in England, that I was to marry the king of Scotts?

Wh. It hath bin reported so in England, and that letters have past between your majesty and him for that purpose;

1653. and that your majesty had a good affection for the king of
 {
 Dec. 29. Scotts.

Qu. I confesse that letters have past between us ; butt this I will assure you, that I will not marry that king : he is a young man, and in a condition sad enough ; though I respect him very much, yett I shall never marry him, you may be well assured. Butt I shall tell you under secrecy, that the king of Scotts lately sent a letter to the prince Palatin, my cousen, and with it the order of a knight of the garter to the prince : butt the messenger had the witt to bring it first to me ; and when I saw it and had read the letter, I threw it into the fire, and would not suffer the george to be delivered to my cousen,

Wh. Your majesty did very judiciously, and therby testified great prudence in yourselfe, and great honor and respect to the common-wealth of England. I mett in your court one of my countrymen, no friend to our common-wealth, whom I suspect might be the messenger.

Qu. Who was that ?

Wh. Sir William Balendine.

Qu. He indeed was the messenger : butt doe not communicate this passage to any butt to your generall.

Wh. I shall fully performe your majesty's commaunds ; and, madame, I hope you will not trouble yourselfe to receive any publique minister or message from the king of Scotts, or any of his party ; or if any should come, that your servant may have the honor to know of it.

Qu. What would you doe in case any such thing should be? 1653.

Dec. 29.

Wh. I hope that, in reason and in right of friendship with our common-wealth, I may prevayle with your majesty not to intertaine any such minister or message; and it behoves me, in that duty and service which I owe to my superiors, to make my protestation against any such message or messengers.

Qu. That would be an act of stoutnes in you, and I believe you may be commanded to doe soe; butt I suppose there will be no occasion for it: there is no such messenger in my court; and as for Balendine, he is one of my servants.

Wh. I hope there will be no occasion for it.

Qu. What are the perticulars which you have to propose to me of this treaty?

Wh. Madame, I have them heer in writing.

Then Whitelocke (having resolved as the best way in his judgment to deale with a princeesse of honor) did freely and fully present her with all the articles att once, for which he had received instructions, reserving only three, which would be more proper to be given in and treated on after her answer known to these. Perhaps he would have done otherwise with the Dutch, or other people, to have proceeded by degrees, and not to have bid so much att first; butt with this queen he thought this franke way would be the best. And it proved so; for she was pleased after this to say to some in private, that the english ambassador had dealt with her, not

1653. as a merchant, butt as a gentleman and as a man of honor,
 and that he should fare the better for it.
 Dec. 29.

Whitelocke gave her an english copy of the articles signed by him, and a latin copy not signed: she desired him to reade the latin copy to her, which he did, and she was very attentive, not giving any interruption; and, after they were read, the queen made her observations upon severall of them, asking the meaning therof, which Whitelocke explained, and endeavoured to give her satisfaction. She then said, it was a great buisnes, and she desired some few days to consider and advise upon it: Whitelocke told her, she was mistress of her own time, and when she should command, he would be ready to waite on her majesty agayne. She replied, that, whensoever he pleased to come to her court, the gates should be open to receive him, and he should be wellcome to her; and that, within three or four dayes, she would be ready to conferre with him agayne about these matters.

This audience lasted about three howres, none interrupting it, and the queen was in a very good humour, and seemed very well pleased with the company and conference.

30. This being the post day, Whitelocke was very buisy in writing his letters to England. He wrote att large to the councell of state an account of his reception and entertainment heer, and of his publique audience; and the civility and gallantry of his people, of the passage about the health, of his private audiences, of the conference with the queen, touching the fundt, which he wrote in cypher. He also sent them a copy of prince Adolph's letter to him, and of his speech to the queen in english, and the latin
 copy.

copy of it, which he gave in to her, which heer fol-1653.
lowes.

Dec. 30.

“ Serenissima Regina,

“ Adsum imperio et autoritate parlamenti reipub. Angliæ amandatus, ut eorum nomine serenissimam majestatem vestram salutarem.

“ Quod officium multo ante cupidi præstitissent, si non summa ratio turbatas res in tribus nationibus domi componendi; nec non complura ab exteris curandi necessitas molesta ipsissimis mora interpellasset.

“ Enimvero licet respub. anglicana in alta mente reponens, quam barbare non ita pridem contra jus ac fas gentium, oratores sui publici aliquibus in locis tractabantur; vel inde legationibus perparce uti possit, liquet tamen quod pro magnifico vestri regiminis honore habeatur, nullum esse ea de re, nec dominis meis, nec eorum ministris sub tutela vestra suspensionem; quin potius nos ipsi quotquot huc convenimus, experti multa humanitatis officia, et erga nos, et gentem nostram grato animo agnoscimus.

“ Id jam nunc mihi incumbit officii, ut cum serenissima majestate vestra de bono publico communicarem, quæ res tam ardua tantiq; momenti est, ut vel hinc mihi de tota negotiatione male ominarer, nisi Dei omnipotentis consilio auxilioq; fretus essem, qui non raro stupendia opera mediis quantumvis vulgaribus concinnat; hac spe erectus, nec non jussu meorum dominorum impulsus (quorum summa apud me autoritas est) tanto fruor honore,,

1653. " honore, ut coram serenissima majestate vestra presens con-
 ~~~~~ " sisterem.  
 Dec. 30.

" Quam, non multiplici verborum inania lenocinio de-  
 " fatigare libet, tantum aberit a specie omni effusiarum,  
 " oratio mea, quantum erit in verbis fides; in mandatis  
 " enim habeo, gentili more, & mihi ingenito, sine fuco,  
 " fide anglica, quæ nullos fefellit, sincere et candide  
 " omnia transfigere.

" Ex flamma atq; incendio, ac pene ex faucibus fati,  
 " eripuit nos toties Deus opt. max. tot ac tantis nostra  
 " causa rebus gestis, ut oculatus earum ipse testis, mira-  
 " culorum instar fere habeam, certe opulentissimæ Dei  
 " misericordiæ ineffabilisq; cœlitus in nos benevolentia  
 " monumenta non possum non agnoscere. Quo magis  
 " aptum piumq; est nobis, non fallacia in verbis, non ver-  
 " sutia in moribus quantulacunq; veluti piaculari flagitio  
 " conscientias nostras contaminare.

" Non hujus rei causa veneram, ut pigmentis rhetori-  
 " cis ascititiisq; coloribus gentem nostram depingerem, nec  
 " ut alienam, licet inimicam, carbone denigrarem; neq; id  
 " operam dabo, ut serenissimæ majestatis vestræ ipsius au-  
 " gustissimas virtutes in administrando regno collaudarem;  
 " vel ut populum felicissimum et fortissimum, territoria am-  
 " plissima commemorarem, ne non cumulate cujusvis meri-  
 " tum dicendo adæquarem; et quod cum his ago, quibus  
 " tot ac tanta beneficia concefferit benignissimus Deus,  
 " quot ac quanta ut augeat, auctaq; conservet, mecum  
 " una respub. Anglorum ex animo præcatur.

" Poteram allegare utriusq; nationis conjunctissimos  
 " mores, sermonis, legumq; affinitatem, nec non utriusq;  
 " bellicos

“ bellicos animos, conciliandis utrisq; arctiore amicitia 1653.  
 “ nexu argumenta non scripta sed nata; sed transeo ad <sup>Dec. 30.</sup>  
 “ illud nullatenus silendum, cujus laudis fructus nos quoq;  
 “ gustavimus, feliciter censeo administratum regnum sub  
 “ majestatis vestrae auspiciis; quod suggerit tranquilla et  
 “ halcyonia regiae nostrae virginis Elizabethae tempora, qui-  
 “ bus 40 amplius annorum spatio, nec tutelariorem popu-  
 “ lus principem, nec observantiorum princeps populum  
 “ desiderabat, quam sortem feliciorumq; serenissimae ma-  
 “ jestati vestrae et successoribus praestat Deus.

“ Neq; vero defuisset Elizabetham nostram sequentibus,  
 “ concentus ille consensusq; civium, si non sua ipsorum  
 “ regnandi impotentia obstitisset: rapere moliebantur sacro-  
 “ sancta privilegia nostra, religionem orthodoxam, liberta-  
 “ temq; legibus sancitam (quarum rerum tuendarum causa  
 “ serenissimae majestatis vestrae pater beatae memoriae, Gusta-  
 “ vus Adolphus, expeditionem in Germaniam in protestan-  
 “ tium subsidium, honorifice suscepit) quam praedicando in  
 “ omne aevum successu Deus benedixit; nobis domi idem  
 “ facientibus, non iusta tantum causa, sed necessaria erat,  
 “ nec numen quoq; defuit. Cognitum compertumq; nobis  
 “ est ad extorquendum vi et armis, quod frustra alias ten-  
 “ tatum est, religionem evangelicam, et avitam libertatem,  
 “ auxiliares copias conscriptas, bellum deinde indictum,  
 “ Scotis primum, sed illis obnitentibus, et recusantibus  
 “ Anglis adversus eos hac in re decertare tempestas illa sic  
 “ defecit. Sed apud Hibernos, majorem in modum re-  
 “ dintegrascit, quo in loco (quod dictu horrendum)  
 “ 200,000 hominum nefario facinore perditissimorum ho-  
 “ minum mactabantur inopinato, nulla habita aetatis aut  
 “ sexus ratione; taceo illos innumeros qui in bello perie-  
 “ runt, nulla hujus lanienae causa assignata, quam quod  
 “ protestantes audiebant. In Anglia, bellum hoc intesti-

1653. “ num internæcivumq; ferro atq; igne per omnes ubicun-  
 Dec. 30. “ que angulos grassabatur; non locus, non domus ulla a  
 “ furore hujus decennatis plusquam civilis belli immunis  
 “ latuit. Adhuc tamen viximus (Deo sit honor) vigemusq;  
 “ post tot mala superstites.

“ Immane quantum sanguinis effusum erat, quot ædifi-  
 “ cia vastata, urbes direptæ, veruntamen peregrinus ali-  
 “ quis sedulo oberrans terras nostras rimansq; vix tantula  
 “ belli alicujus vestigia deprehendat. Tandem misericors  
 “ Deus summam nobis pacem in Anglia, Scotia, et Hiber-  
 “ nia, insulisq; circumjacentibus, et universis nostræ  
 “ ditionis terris indulgit. In omnibus provocationibus  
 “ nostris ad exercituum Deum (quarum permultas novi-  
 “ mus) semper nostras partes agere parlamento militare de-  
 “ cernereq; beneplacitum est. At post tot palmas, quasi  
 “ divina virgula conquistis, post colloquia octies expetita  
 “ et incassum adhibita, visum est tandem benignissimi nu-  
 “ minis plenipotentis dextro, bono commodoq; Angliæ,  
 “ politiam ejus commutare.

“ Nihilominus communis eadem utilitas, quæ antiquis  
 “ foederibus pactisq; utraq; gentes olim conjunxerat, im-  
 “ mutata adhuc integraq; permanet, easq; devincit in com-  
 “ mune ut consulant; quod ambarum intersit, et mutua  
 “ præstare utramq; utriq; officia; quod eo magis honest-  
 “ tum decorumq; est, ut fiat; quod nullo hactenus ævo  
 “ cognitum est, adversis denunciati belli ingignibus nos in-  
 “ vicem concertasse, quin potius mutuus utrinq; amor non  
 “ poenitendis officiis se invicem obligans, continua anna-  
 “ lium serie animadvertitur.

“ Hisce autem consideratis rebus nec non Christiani  
 “ orbis præsertim quæ principum ac rerumpub. finitima-  
 “ rum

“ rum regionum, quæ res divini numinis providentia sic 1653.  
 “ se habent, exinde anfa arripi largior possit; et necessitas  
 “ quædam salutaris utrisq; gentibus incumbat, ut strictiore <sup>Dec. 30.</sup>  
 “ solito inter se fœdere conglutinentur, quo commercia,  
 “ tranquillitasq; mutua, præservari et curari possit, habita  
 “ etiam ratione ejus quod communiter intersit, veræ reli-  
 “ gionis protestantium; quod autem serenissima majestas  
 “ vestra, per ministros tuos publicos, in Angliam missos,  
 “ promptam se iri ac paratam testificata est, modis omni-  
 “ bus honestis, conservandi adaugendiq; antiquam bene-  
 “ volentiam olim inter hæc gentes initam.

“ Hicce alijsq; magnis de causis, et ut pateret quam nobis  
 “ grata fuerunt serenissimæ majestatis vestræ postulata,  
 “ visum est parlamento per me offerre majestatis vestræ  
 “ amicitiam reipub. Anglicanæ, et certiolem facere ma-  
 “ jestatem vestram, paratos se non tantum benevolentiam  
 “ ac fœdera antiqua inter utraq; nationes indissolubili fide  
 “ instaurare, et rescindere; sed etiam hoc amplius velle, ut  
 “ arctiore fœderis vinculo utriusq; commodo gens utraq;  
 “ inter se conjungatur.

“ Hæc quo facilius fiant, prout æquum videbitur, quod  
 “ in mandatis perticularius habeo ea de re, lubens commu-  
 “ nicabo.”

Before he had finished his letters, though it was post-  
 day, yett the queen sent, by Grave Tott, for Whitelocke  
 to come presently to her, which he did; and she asking  
 him, he told her, that his letters from England were not  
 yett brought to him, and he doubted they might be inter-  
 cepted. The queen offered him to send his letters under  
 her cover to her commissary Bonnele att London, and  
 that he should have order to send Whitelocke's letters hi-



1653. ther, in her majesty's packet ; for which favour he thank-  
 ed her, butt did not thinke fitt to make use of it, lest her  
 Dec. 30. ministers might have opportunity therby to looke into his  
 letters : and he thought his masters would not like it well,  
 that the queen's servants should convey their letters. -

*Queen.* I have intelligence by this post, that the treaty  
 between England and the Dutch is broken of; have you  
 heard so ?

*Wh.* I have received no letters, butt possibly it may be  
 so : yett if there should be a peace between them, I doe  
 not apprehend any inconvenience therby to the alliance of  
 England and Sweden, which the Dutch could have no pre-  
 tence to oppose.

*Qu.* As friends to the Dane they must.

*Wh.* Then it will be against their peace with England.


*Qu.* Heer are my letters in Dutch ; you may have them  
 translated, and take coppies of them.

*Wh.* I most humbly thanke your majesty.

*Qu.* I have considered of the discourse between us yester-  
 day, and I think it would be very advantagious to our al-  
 liance to take the king of Spayne into it ; what doe you  
 thinke of that ?

He apprehended that the queen had imparted to Piemen-  
 telle their former discourse ; and that he had putt her  
 uppon this overture : to which Whitelocke answered.

*Wh.*

*Wh.* Madame, I know not how farre the parlement may 1653.  
hold off, in regard that no justice hath bin yett done   
uppon those who murdered our publique minister there. Dec. 30.

*Qu.* That is a just exception ; butt in regard the Dutch are now making an alliance, and are very neer it, between them, and France, and Denmark ; it were good for us also to have a trinity (so her word was) of Sweden, England, and Spayn, in an alliance.

*Wh.* Probably some may object the difference in religion.

*Qu.* That will be no hinderance to the force of the union ; the dutch and dane, being protestants, doe unite with the french though papists : I pray consider further of it ; methinks the papists have not equall liberty with others, as they ought to have.

*Wh.* Their tenets doe not consist with the publique peace of protestant princes and states, whom they esteem hereticks, and a good service to God to cutt them off.

*Qu.* This opinion some have vented in former times ; but now their interest leades them from it, and they doe not hold it.

*Wh.* I doubt they still retaine it.

*Qu.* I pray what religion doe you professe in England?

*Wh.* In regard your majesty doth me the honor to catechise me, I shall answear you very freely : we professe the true reformed protestant christian religion ; we believe

1653. in God the father, our creator; in God the son Jesus Christ,  
 our redeemer; and in God the Holy Ghost, our comforter;  
 Dec. 30. three persons, and one God.

*Qu.* That is very right, and these are the same fundamentalls with other protestant churches; butt the world reports a great number of severall different religions in England, some luthers, some calvins, some called independants, some anabaptists, and some yett higher and different from all the rest, whose names we know not.

*Wh.* Where Luther or Calvin, or others, agree with the holy scriptures, the true rule to walke by, there the profession in England agrees with them, and is butt one in the fundamentalls of it; and as to the difference of opinions in ceremonies, or some matters of worship and discipline, it is incident to men, as much as differences of countenances or of dyet; butt, in the maine, all agree. The late troubles occasioned people to take a greater liberty in all things, peticularly in matters of religion, then formerly; and there it is esteemed the highest tyranny of all others, to tyrannise over mens judgements and consciences.

*Qu.* May not such a buisnes, as that of the anabaptists at Munster, be feared by you to be the issue of these differences in religion, especially when such kind of men receive countenance. There is nothing more desperate to the peace of a state, then the fostering of such violent incendiaries as these kind of people are; and, if they be suffered to grow and spread their opinions uncontrowled, it will prove difficult to reduce them to order againe: these new opinions are not sprung up from those who now professe them, butt have bin instigated by your ennemies.

*Wh.*

*Wh.* Your majesty's observation is most right, that our 1653.  
 enemies have fomented these differences; and the more <sup>Dec. 30.</sup>  
 care and vigilance is requisite to prevent the daungers of  
 them, butt hold it the best way to neglect them, *spretu exo-*  
*lescent*: therby they will fall of themselves; when a pub-  
 lique notice and proceeding against them will butt make  
 them the more considerable, men being apt to take in with  
 a prosecuted party; and new fangles please the vulgar, who  
 can least distinguish, and are soonest mislead. Butt many  
 with us hold it a right for every one to be left to take care  
 of his own soule, which concernes none butt himselfe, and  
 that the magistrate ought not to confine, or persecute, ano-  
 ther into his judgement for that which concerns the other  
 only, so long as the publique peace is preserved, to which  
 the law of England hath a strict regard; and whosoever,  
 by his opinion, or practice, disturbs that peace, is to be  
 severely punished.

Then the queen, who used much variety and digressions  
 in her discourse, asked Whitelocke;

*Qu.* How doe you contrive it to write to your superiors,  
 that others may not know what you write, in case your  
 letters should be intercepted: doe you write by cyphers?

*Wh.* That is a way that may easily be uncyphered; butt  
 I use to write to my generall by such a way as no  
 flesh can ever find out, butt by agreement before-hand.

*Qu.* How is that I pray?

*Wh.* I leave with my generall, or with the secretary of  
 the councill, two glasses of water, which I make: with the  
 one of the waters I write my letters, having two like glasses  
 of

1653. of waters with myselfe. The letter, thus written, no man  
 Dec. 30. can possibly reade, no more then if it were written with  
 fayre water ; butt wash over this letter with the water in  
 the other glasse, and it turnes it to blacke, and just as if it  
 had bin written with inke.

*Qu.* That is a curious way indeed ; and have you of  
 those waters heer ?

*Wh.* Yes, madame, I make them myselfe, and have left  
 of them with my general ; so that no creature can reade his  
 or my letters without them.

*Qu.* What huge dogge is this ?

*Wh.* It is an english *mastiffe*, which I brought with me,  
 and it seems is broke loose, and followed me even to this  
 place.

*Qu.* Is he gentle and well conditioned ?

*Wh.* The more courage they have, the more gentle they  
 are ; this is both. Your majesty may stroake him.

*Qu.* I have heard of the fierceness of these dogges ; this  
 is very gentle.

*Wh.* They are very gentle, unless provoked, and of a  
 generous kind ; no creature hath more mettle or faithfull-  
 nesse then they have.

*Qu.* Is it your dogge ?

*Wh.*

*Wh.* I cannot tell ; some of my people told me, that one 1653.  
Mr. Peters sent it for a present to the queen.

~~~~~  
Dec. 30.

Qu. Who is that Mr. Peters ?

Wh. A minister, and great servant to the parlement.

Qu. That Mr. Peters sent me a letter.

Wh. He is a great admirer of your majesty ; butt to presume to send a letter, or a dogge, for a present to a queen, I thought above him, and not fitt to be offered to your majesty.

Qu. I have many letters from private persons : his letter and the dogge doe belong to me, and are my goods ; and I will have them.

Wh. Your majesty commaunds in chiefe, and all ought to obey you, and so will I ; not only as to the letter and dogge, butt likewise as to another part of his present, a great english cheefe of his countrey-making.

Qu. I doe kindly accept them from him ; and see that you send my goods to me.

Wh. I will not fayle to obey your majesty.

The queen was pleased to take notice herselfe, and to promise to give order for supply of some accomodations which were heer wanting to Whitelocke and his company ; and so they parted in much drollerye.

After

1653. After his returne home, he mett with yett another hinderance of his dispatches.
 Dec. 30.

The ricks hough master of Denmarke, Mnr. Woolfeldt, came to visit Whitelocke, who being informed of this gentleman before, and of his great parts and abilities, with his experience of publique affayres, especially relating to his own countrey, wherof Whitelocke thought he might make some use, and the more, bicause of the present hostility between England and Denmarke, and this gentleman's condition; he was received by Whitelocke with all courtesy, and gained into an intimate friendship and frequent conversation.

He is a serious man in buisnes, and facetious att other times; of great experience in matters of negotiation, having bin (as himselfe related) thirteen times imployed as a publique minister, and most times as an ambassador.

He married the king of Denmarke's daughter by a left-handed *wife* (as they are there called), that is a second wife, whom the king, having issue by his first wife, takes in marriage by the left hand; nor is permitted otherwise, nor their issue to inherit the crown.

After his many and great services, and notwithstanding his neer alliance to the king, his master, and brother, yett falling into his displeasure, bicause (as he said) he was thought too much to favour the rights and freedome of his countrey (a crime unpardonable), he had his estate confiscated and was himselfe forced, for the safety of his life, to flye out of his native countrey into Sweden for refuge; where persons, in his condition, have a kind of asylum afforded to them, by the articles of the two crowns.

He

He had much discourse of England, where he had bin ¹⁶⁵³⁻ twice, and once with king Charles att Yorke, after the troubles begun, whom, he said, he observed not to take ^{Dec. 30.} good advice in the government; and theruppon he imagined before-hand what had since come to passe.

He inveighed against the archbishop Laud and others of his party, and highly commended the earles of Holland, Stafford, and others, who had bin civill to him. He was excellent company, and Whitelocke made very good use therof, by reason of the great knowledge and experience of this gentleman, not only of the affayres of Denmark, butt of most other states of Europe.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke some papers of intelligence, which he had from the french court and from Holland; wherby it appeared, that the peace was farre advanced between France, Denmarke, and the Dutch.

After all the buisnes of this day, yett Whitelocke must make up his dispatches for England, and had very many both publique and private letters to write; and although himselfe wrote one, and att the same time dictated two other letters to his secretaries (which he was known frequently to doe), yett he was faine to sitt up almost all night before his pacquett could be finished.

Mr. Clavering, an english marchant att Stockholme, brought to Whitelocke two pacquets of letters from England, which came by the post: in them he had sad letters from his wife of her being ill, and of her grieve for his absence. He had also severall letters of newes from private friends; and from the secretary of the councell, Mr. Thurloe, an exact account concerning the dutch treaty; that it yett

1653. proceeded butt lento pede; that Chanut, the french ambassador in Holland, laboured there to hinder it, and this
 Dec. 31. he did underhand, butt publicly spake wholly to further it; and the like was done by Burdeaux, the french ambassador in England; butt the Spanyard stood still and looked on; of the buisnes of the highlanders in Scotland, and the inconsiderableness of them; with all other, both forein and domestick newes, of any consequence.

By this constant and perfect intelligence from Thurloe, Whitelocke had great advantage in his negotiation, being thereby inabled to give a perfect account of affayres, not only of his own countrey, butt of most other places, to the great satisfaction of the queen, and her court, and grantees, with whom Whitelocke had frequent converse; and from his private and publique letters was able to satisfy their curious inquiryes after newes: so that it came to passe, that no newes (especially from England) was authentique, untill it were ratified by the english ambassador, which raysed the credit both of him, and his intelligence.

He caused an abstract of his newes to be written in french out of his letters, and carryed it late that night to the queen, who thanked him for it. The frost was so hard and slipperye, that he was faine to walke on foote, and to be supported by two of his servants.

The queen, among other things, fell into discourse with him concerning king James, who, she had heard, was poysoned, and his son prince Henry also; butt Whitelocke declined this discourse, and to speake reproachfully of the dead.

Then

Then the queen discoursed of the great duke of Bucks 1653.
 (as she called him) and of his extraction and favour, where-
 of Whitelocke gave her a perticular account; and she de-
 manding, how he came to be so fully instructed of the duke,
 his son, and family; he told her, there was a neere alliance
 between the duke and Whitelocke's children; whereof she
 was very inquisitive.

Dec. 31.

She also inquired concerning the old earle of Arundell,
 the countess of Kent, and divers of our nobility; and of
 Mr. Selden, Patrick Young, some of the bishops, and
 divers others of our learned men, of whom Whitelocke was
 able to give her an account, and did no injury to any of
 them; in so much that the queen said, she marvayled to
 heare one give so full an account of so many, and not to
 speake reproachfully of any of them, not of an ennemy,
 butt to give every one his due.

Whitelocke told her, that he held it disingenious to re-
 proach princes, or any others, behind their backs, and
 more honourable to speake plainly to themselves, then to
 back-bite any one: the queen sayd, that was honorable,
 and very becoming a gentleman.

She then commended the library att St. James's, and the
 rare MSS. there, of some whereof she desired to gett coppies:
 Whitelocke told her, he was the more capable to serve her
 therin, bicause he was keeper of that library; and promif-
 ed, att his returne to England, to indeavour to doe her
 majesty that service which she desired.

One would have imagined that England had bin her
 native countrey, so well was she furnished with the charac-
 ters of most persons of consideration there, and with the

1653. story of the nation, and full of inquiryes touching those
Dec. 31. matters ; wherein Whitelocke found his having bin acquainted
with persons and affayres to be a great advantage to
him.

The queen spake much for king of Spayne's being taken into the alliance with England and Sweden ; and Whitelocke prayed her to putt it into her memoire of proposalls, and he would transmitt it to his superiors.

She told Whitelocke, she wondered that he had no letters from his general, and sayd, she used to write to her forein publique ministers ; butt Whitelocke said, his general seldome did so, butt those letters were from the councill of state.

She desired Whitelocke's assistance in a buisnes in England concerning one of her servants, the lady Jane Ruthen, daughter to general Ruthen ; wherein Whitelocke promised his service.

He heard there would be a balle to-morrow att the court, and that he should be invited to it ; butt, by intimation to Grave Tott, and senator Vanderlin, to excuse him if he were thought on, that neither he nor any of his company could be there, bicause it was the Lord's day, he prevented the invitation, and his denyall of it.

JANUARY.

J A N U A R Y .

IT being made known to Whitelocke by his officers, that ^{1653.}
 some of his family had bin disorderly, and transgressed ^{Jan. 1.}
 his orders, he thought fitt to begin the new year with an
 admonition to them: and this being the *Lord's day*, after
 the morning sermon, himselfe spake to them to this effect :

“ We have received good and seasonable instructions by
 “ the sermon this morning, to which I shall take the liberty
 “ of a smalle addition as father of the family, wishing and
 “ indeavouring the good of your soules and bodyes.

“ I am forry that my words to some of you must be, as
 “ the apostle said, *we heare that there are some which walke*
 “ *among you disorderly, working not att all, butt are buisy*
 “ *bodyes.*

“ Some of you goe to court or meeting with strangers,
 “ perhaps imployed to sift you, gaine from you characters
 “ of some of your company, or of your ruler, unbefitting
 “ you to give, and prejudiciall to what we all wish; they
 “ talke of newes and buisnes above their capacity: the
 “ apostle gives such a character; *they are unruly and*
 “ *vaine talkers, they learne to be idle, wandring about*
 “ *from house to house; and not only idle, butt tatlers also*
 “ *and buisy bodyes, speaking things which they ought not.*
 “ Such I heare is the condition and carryage of some of you;
 “ it is unworthy in any; it is such as I shall not tollerate,
 “ and

1653. “ and therefore admonish such, as are conscious of this fault,
 { Jan. 1. “ to reforme it.

“ Others among you I heare are idle, inferiors not doing
 “ the worke appointed them, and superiors spending their
 “ pretious time vainly ; this is a fault to be reprov'd, and
 “ it seems strange to me, that any who can reade should so
 “ loose their howers, and not know what to doe, when there
 “ are bibles to be had among us, the reading wherof is the
 “ the most delightfull subject in the world to any soul en-
 “ lightened with the least sparke of grace : this vice and sin
 “ of idlenes I exhort you to reforme, lest the curse fall uppon
 “ you, which the wise man prophesyeth, *slothfullness*
 “ *casteth into a deep sleep, and an idle soul shall suffer*
 “ *hunger.*

“ Idlenes is a temptation to debauchery : I cannot tell
 “ (saith one) how to passe the time, and therefore goes with
 “ others into a house of drunkenness or other wickedness.
 “ For shame ! doe not say you know not how to passe the
 “ time, when you have civill company to discourse of good
 “ things, when you have bookes, when the bible is not pro-
 “ hibited : your time passeth away fast enough ; and the
 “ youngest or best of you cannot recall a moment of it.

“ Give no cause to strangers to reproach you, to say,
 “ behold these english professors infected with the worst of
 “ vices ; remember the great goodnes of God to us in our
 “ preservation by sea and by land, in remote countryes, in
 “ greatest difficulties and daungers ; lett this love of God
 “ constraine us to repentance and amendment of life. Such
 “ disorders as I hear of, and some of you know that you
 “ have fallen into, I must not, I cannot, I will not beare.
 “ We ought to walke in some measure answerable to the
 “ mercyes

“ mercyes we have received, which, if we doe, we shall
 “ therby bring honor to our God, to our countrey, to our
 “ profession of religion, and to ourselves ; butt if we walke
 “ disorderly, we shall dishonor the name of God, disgrace
 “ our deare countrey, scandalize our religion, and bring
 “ contempt and punishment uppon ourselves : to avoid
 “ which, lett us not be wanting in our own indeavours,
 “ nor in our humble prayers to God ; lett every one watch
 “ over himselfe, and over one another, and I shall, with
 “ my best care, watch over you all, and shall not afford
 “ the least connivance to any breach of my orders.

1653.
Jan. 1.

“ I heare of a ball or dauncing this night intended att
 “ the court ; most of you know the issue of the like in
 “ England. You all know I prohibite not honest lawfull
 “ recreations ; butt where sin accompanies them, I shall
 “ beare my testimony against them : such I account this
 “ ball on this day, and therefore have refused to be present
 “ att it, and strictly doe forbid you all, that not one of my
 “ company doe appeare att it. The apostles rule is safe,
 “ *abstaine from all appearance of evill.*”

This being new-year's-day, the queen's guards, trumpetts,
 drummes, huntsmen, forty lacquais, coachmen, and other
 servants, came to Whitelocke's lodging, and desired *new-*
year's guifts with strange earnestness, and dishonorably
 enough.

Whitelocke being informed that it was usuall for ambaf-
 sadors to bestow these new-year's guifts, and considering
 how needy and clamorous these persons were, did thinke
 fitt to bestow something uppon them ; and where he gave,
 he did it liberally, suitable to his quality, and the honor of
 his country.

The

1653. The master of the ceremonies came to town this day (the
 Jan. 1. usuall time of their travayle), visited Whitelocke, whom
 he acquainted with the want of beds and accomodations for
 his servants, which he promised should be supplied.

2. More of the queen's servants came for new-year's gifts,
 and were not to be denied.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and asking him how he
 was accomodated, Whitelocke told him, that in ten days
 time, which he had bin heer, he could not procure beds for
 his servants, neither for money, nor by the queen's officers ;
 who excused it upon the boore's disobeying orders for it :
 butt his people, and consequently himselfe, could not long
 continue heer without them in this season.

Piementelle blamed the officers, and said, he would ac-
 quaint the queen with it, and that it should be remedied.
 Yett this unhanfome and uncharitable neglect towards stran-
 gers was continued by the queen's officers a long time after,
 and money could not remedy it : but Whitelocke feared
 sickness in his family by it.

Their best comfort was good fires, wherof Whitelooke did
 not stint them ; so that he usually spent, in one day in his
 house, thirty of their loads of wood, which is about fifteen
 of our loads.

Whilst Piementelle and Whitelocke were discoursing, the
 queen came by through the town in her sledde, with divers
 of her ladyes and servants waiting on her in sleddes to take
 the aier.

These

These sledges are neatly made, most of them curiously wrought and carved, some richly painted and gilded; the shape of them is not unlike a little ship boate, butt shorter: they are fastened upon two pieces of timber, one upon each side, which carry them up, and smoothly slide upon the ice and frozen snow. They are made generally butt for one person to sitt in: behind the sledde, upon one of the pieces of timber, he stands that guides the sledde horse by a long reine. When the queen rides, commonly some earle or other great gallant guides the sledde: the ladies have their gallants also, to whom they allow the like honor.

1653.
Jan. 2.

The sledde is drawne by one horse, whose harness they covet to have very rich, according to their qualityes; many of them are sett with studdes of silver, and thicke with little belles of silver or of brasse, which make a cheerfull and great noise and jingle, being shaken by a large trotting horse, and when a dozen or twenty of them passe together; yett they goe easier than our wherries.

The inside of the sledde is usually lined, the bottom and sides of it with bears skin, or some other furre: the ladies take the aier in them in the winter time, when they are only usefull in the mid-day, the sun then generally shining clear and warme, and no wind stirring, which makes it pleasant; butt if there be the least wind, it cuttes so sharpe, that there is no pleasure to goe abroad.

The ladies and their sleddiars are very gallant, with great plumes in their hatts; and the horses have the like on their heads and buttockes.

Piementelle staying with Whitelocke above three howers, he was entertained with Whitelocke's musick; the rector

Vol. I.

O o

chori

1653. chori was Mr. Ingelo, excellent in that as in other faculties,
 Jan. 2. and seven or eight of his gentlemen, well skilled both in
 vocall and instrumentall musicke; and Whitelocke himselfe
 sometimes in private did beare his part with them, having
 bin in his younger dayes a master and composer of musick.
 He thought it not unseasonable in the long winter nights to
 use this recreation, and therby his people were the better
 kept together, and from disorderly going abroad.

Piementelle highly and deservedly commended Whitelocke's musick, and acquainted the queen with it, who was a great lover therof.

Att this time, in great secrecy, Piementelle gave unto Whitelocke a copy of the letter, which the queen told Whitelocke she received from the king of Scotts, and he believed she contrived to be thus conveyed to Whitelocke: the letter was this *.

* See Appendix E.

The letter hath this english translation.

“ Sir, my brother,

“ The knight of Balladin hath given me the letter, which
 “ you have taken the paines to write unto me, and hath
 “ proposed to me the commission which you gave him in
 “ charge; he hath acted throughout as a man of honor, and
 “ hath testified as much faithfullness and zeal for your service,
 “ as you could desire of him: I owe this testimony for
 “ him, to the end you may not impute to him the bad
 “ success of this negotiation. It is the injury of chance
 “ which doth render your ills incurable; and I esteem myselfe
 “ unhappy to be in such a condition, that I cannot
 “ bring you any remedy. You will doubtless have the
 “ bountey to permit your friends to have a care of their
 “ own

“ own interest, when they judge themselves incapable, as 1653.
 “ to yours ; I doe avow unto you with regret, that I am Jan. 2.
 “ more then any other ; and that I cannot consent to the
 “ proposalls which you have made unto me, without pre-
 “ judice to the good of an estate, whose interests ought to
 “ be dear unto me above all consideration. In the meane
 “ while, I wish that time, which brings remedy to all sorts
 “ of evils, may att length putt an end to your adversities,
 “ and that it may furnish me with occasions to lessen them,
 “ without doing any thing contrary to those obligations,
 “ which only have the whole power over me. I am,

“ Sir, my brother,

“ your most affectionate sister,

“ CHRISTINE.”

After some discourse upon this letter, Piementelle tooke his leave of Whitelocke.

Whitelocke was earnestly solicited by an Italian gentleman, who stiled himselfe le premier valet de la garderobe de sa majesté, first servant of her wardrobe, that his goods being taken by a private man of war of England, that Whitelocke would procure the restitution of them ; and he, finding the gentleman in favour with the queen, promised to write into England, which he did, for that purpose.

One Toby Tredorus, a German, a kind of agent in this court for the towns of Stetin, Stralsunt, and other ports and places in Pomerland, by commaund (as he sayd) of his superiors, made application to Whitelocke to mediate with the parlement, that the ships of those townes might have free passage by sea, without disturbance of the parlement's ships ; and, in order therunto, he presented to Whitelocke a printed

1653. booke of latin verses, describing the scituation and commodities of those towns, and a letter in latin containing his request, wherein he gave the title of most serene and most potent common-wealth of England. Whitelocke wrote into England about this matter.

Jan. 2.

3. Uppon the good success of the queen's servants, the lacquays of prince Adolphe came to Whitelocke to demand new-year's gifts ; butt he sent them answear, that he was no suitor att court, nor had they done him any service, therefore he held himselfe not ingaged to bestowe new-year's gifts on them.

Whitelocke was visited with great respect and proffer of service by Mr. Ravius, a German gentleman ; he had formerly bin in England, whither he came for the freedome of his conscience and religion : those then in power in England, finding him to be of extraordinary parts and learning (especially in the easterne touns) wherein he excelled most in this age, and comming to England as to a sanctuary, he was preferred to a professor's place in Oxford, and had his pension duely payd him. Butt shortly after, his learning being eminent, he was invited with large promises into Sweden, whither he went for his advantage ; and in this university of Upsale was made hebrew professor with a pension of 500 ricks dollers a year : butt (as is usuall) this being long unpaid, Ravius fell into want, wherof he made complaint to Whitelocke, who pittying his condition, and finding that, by his marriage with a bishop's daughter, he had relations and interest with divers great men (who nevertheless would not supply his wants), Whitelocke thought good to supply them, and, by Mr. Ingelo his chaplein, sent him privately 5 l. which he scrupeld not gratefully to accept.

By

By him Whitelocke had characters of several great men, 1653.
 and of their inclinations and affections to his buisnes ; and ^{Jan. 3.}
 uppon divers occasions Whitelocke imployed him, and made
 good use of him. He had rare Arabick manuscripts, which
 Whitelocke desired to have bought, but could not gett them.

Whitelocke visited the lady Jane Ruthen, concerning
 whom the queen had spoken to him ; and in that or any
 other buisnes, Whitelocke professed all readyness to doe her
 service ; which visit she tooke as a great respect, and told the
 queen of it : and Whitelocke found, that, among other visits,
 those to ladies are not unnecessary for an ambassador,
 especially in the court of a queen, whose care they have
 more then her counsellors ; and, in all states, their influence
 in the highest affayres is not to be despised.

Whitelocke received civilities and respect from divers of
 the queen's ladies, with whom he had sometimes oppor-
 tunity to discourse when he waited on the queen ; and most
 of them had the french language : and therefore Whitelocke
 tooke occasion sometimes to visit them, and to discourse
 with them in drollery, yett of such matters as he was willing
 should come to the queen's care, and he knew the ladies
 would not fayle to relate to her majesty ; and this he found
 they did, and not to the disadvantage of him or his buisnes,
 through the good opinion which his civility had gained with
 them.

Meredith was sent to court with the present of Mr.
 Peters to the queen, who merrily, and with expressions of
 contentment, accepted of them, though from so meane a
 hand ; so farre is she from pride or any shew of scorn-
 fullnesse.

This

1653. This course was constantly observed by Whitelocke in all
 { his visits, that he never gave any to persons (of what qua-
 Jan. 4. lity soever) who had not first visited him ; and then he was
 obliged, by the common rules of civility and the usages of
 all places (especially of these countryes), to requite every
 visit, or else great exceptions would be taken, and censures
 of pride in the neglecter of them : they serve publique mi-
 nisters for the carrying on their buisnes, which is hindred
 by the omission of them.

The kindness of the visits workes much upon the spirits
 of those people ; and the freedome of discourse then, more
 then att the formall meetings, doth ripen and facilitate their
 buisnes.

They wondered att the order of our parlement, prohi-
 biting their members to visit or conferre with forein publique
 ministers ; wherby the statesmen here were of opinion, that
 the parlement retarded their own buisnes, and showed a
 strange jealousy of one another, and a distrust of the fidelity
 of their friends ; a humor usuall among the Italians, and the
 Venetians have the like order against visits of publique forein
 ministers : butt they said, that the northerne people were
 most plaine hearted, used to more freedome in their discourses
 and visits, and of a better nature then so to suspect one
 another ; that if a man were dishonest, and designed to be-
 tray his trust, such an order would be little obstacle, butt
 easily deluded ; butt, by this use of visiting one another, and of
 a franknes in their conferences, they found good advantage
 in their buisnes, and the protraction and delay therof to be
 be much avoyded.

On this subject, among other things, Whitelocke had discourse this day with Mnr. Walfeldt, whom he visited, and spent much time in his good company, from whom he learned many things of great consequence, and received of him sundry most materiall matters relating to the peace of England; wherof Whitelocke gave account by letters in cypher to the councell, and to the generall in England; to whom he also sent a copy of the king of Scotts his letter to the queen of Sweden.

1653.

Jan. 4.

Whitelocke had a private audience with the queen above two howers together: she was pleased first to discourse of private matters.

5.

Qu. Hath your generall a wife and children?

Wh. He hath a wife and five children.

Qu. What family were he and his wife of?

Wh. He was of the family of a Baron's, and his wife the like from Bouchiers.

Qu. Of what parts are his children?

Wh. His two sons and three daughters are all of good parts, and liberall education.

Qu. Some unworthy mention and mistakes have bin made to me of them.

Wh. Your majesty knowes that to be frequent; butt from me you shall have nothing butt trueth.

Qu. Much

1653. *Qu.* Much of the story of your generall hath some paralell
 with that of my auncestor Gustavus the first, who, from a
 Jan. 5. private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the
 title of marshall of Sweden, bicause he had risen up and
 rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which
 the king of Denmarke had putt uppon them, and expelled
 that king; and, for his reward, he was att last elected king
 of Sweden; and I believe that your generall will be king of
 England in conclusion.

Wh. Pardon me, madame, that cannot be, bicause Eng-
 land is resolved into a common-wealth; and my generall
 hath already sufficient power and greatnes, as generall of
 all their forces both by sea and land, which may content
 him.

Qu. Resolve what you will, I believe he resolves to be
 king; and hardly can any power or greatnes be called suf-
 ficient, when the nature of man is so prone (as in these
 dayes) to all ambition.

Wh. I find no such nature in my generall.

Qu. It may easily be concealed till an opportunity serve,
 and then it will shew itselfe.

Wh. All are mortall men, subject to affections.

Qu. How many wives have you had?

Wh. I have had three wives.

Qu. Have you had children by all of them?

Wh.

Wh. Yes, by every one of them.

1653.

Qu. Par Dieu vous estes incorrigible.

Jan. 5.

Wh. Madame, I have bin a true servant to your sexe; and as it was my duety to be kind to my wives, so I count it my happines, and riches, and strength, to have many children.

Qu. You have done well; and if children doe prove well, it is no finalle nor usuall blessing.

Much more discourse her majesty moved of private matters, wherby she made experiment if the trueth would be told her; it appearing that the particulars were known to her before, and that she had good intelligence.

She was pleased with some earnestnes to say;

Qu. You are hypocrites and dissemblers.

Wh. For mysele, I can have little of design (especially in your countrey) to dissemble: I always hated hippocrisy, as a thing unworthy a christian or a gentleman; and my generall hath not bin charged with that odious crime.

Qu. I doe not meane either your generall or your selfe; butt I thinke that in England there are many, who make profession of more holyness then is in them, hoping for advantage by it.

Wh. I doubt there may be some such in England, especially in this time, when (through the goodnes of God) religion is become the chief interest of the nation; and there are of these likewise in other countreyes: butt when they

1653. come to be found out with us (as such cannot be long undiscovered), they loose their ayme and credit, and their dis-
 Jan. 5. sembling is scorned and punished.

23. Is dauncing prohibited in England?

Wh. Some there doe not approve it; butt it is not prohibited by any law, and many there doe use it. Butt I am loth to speake my poore opinion on this argument, lest I may give offence to your majesty.

24. I pray speake freely; it will not offend me, butt I shall take it well from you.

Wh. Then, madame, with all due regard and submission to your better judgement, give me leave to say, that to have balles, dauncing, and such pastimes uppon the Lord's day, I humbly apprehend to be displeasing to God, who hath commaunded that day to be sett aparte for his speciall worship and service, and no workes (except of mercy and necessity) are to be done on that day, much lesse sports to be used: there is time enough besides, and, uppon other dayes, dauncing and other harmles and honest recreations are and may be used; and I humbly present it to your majesty's judgement, whither it may not offend God to allow any prophanation of his day, which is too common heer and elsewhere; and I doubt not butt your majesty lookes uppon it as your perticular duety to give a good example heerin to your people, and not to permit balles on that day. You will doe an act of piety, and most becomming a christian queen, to restraine and punish the sin of prophanation of the Lord's day, as likewise swearing and debauchery, too much used and countenanced in these parts; and pardon me, madame, if I say, I thinke God requires this att your hands.

This

This, and much more to the like effect, Whitelocke spake 1653.
 with plainness, yett fitting respects and apologyes to the queen, hoping that God did putt it into his heart to speak Jan. 5.
 thus freely to her, in a matter wherin the honor of God was so much concerned ; and it tooke so good effect, that, after that, the queen had no more balles in her court on the Lord's day.

After these discourses, the queen fell upon the buisnes of the Sundt, to the like effect as formerly, and sayd to Whitelocke ;

Qu. Have you power to consent to such propofalls as I shall make touching the Sundt ?

Wh. According to the memoire which I have given in, I have power to conclude.

Qu. That is very much, and the things in that memoire are very reasonable ; butt as to any perticulars concerning the Sundt, have you any power to conclude ?

Wh. I cannot tell whether my power will extend to the perticulars, untill I know what the perticulars are ; and then, in case I have not power to conclude, I shall presently transmitt them to my superiors, who will give further directions as shall be reasonable.

Qu. It may be inconvenient for me to make propofalls in such a buisnes as this, and then perhaps be denyed ; and so I should incurre very great prejudice.

Wh. Madame, the same objection might have bin made by me as to my delivering in of propofalls to your majesty ;

1653. butt, to avoyd the objection, if you please to give your propofalls in writing to me, I will fend them as from myfelfe to my superiors, as things collected by me uppon difcourfe: yett pardon me if I fee not the reason why your majesty should fticke att making propofalls to the parlement, more than the parlement did att making propofalls to your majesty.

Jan. 5.

Qu. What way muft this buifnes of the Sundt be done?

Wh. I know butt two wayes, by fea and by land; and both will be heer neceffary.

Qu. How many fhips doe you thinke the parlement will lend me for this defigne?

Wh. I believe they will fend a confiderable number of fhips uppon this or any other defigne to be undertaken by them.

Qu. I defire butt twenty or thirty fhips, and that the parlement, with the refidue of their fleet, would attend the hollanders.

Wh. It is probable that the hollanders, uppon fuch a defigne, may advance with their fleet to the Sundt.

Qu. Then they will be between my fleet and twenty english fhips on the one fide, and the refidue of the english fleet on the other fide. I doe not defire above twenty or thirty english fhips, and fome money.

Wh. England hath great occafions for money for the pay of their armies and great navies, efpecially in this time of their

their wars, both att land and sea; and this will be principally your majesty's buifnes, to open the trade into your seas; and I suppose you will not expect ships and money too from others to doe your worke. 1653. Jan. 5.

Qu. I am in great want of money, and England hath money enough.

Wh. They have enough for their occasions.

Qu. And some to spare; which I have not.

Wh. I doe not see your majesty to waist the revenues of your crown in gallantry of clothes for your own person.

Qu. I am the least curious in clothes of any woman, especially now I am in the countrey.

Wh. Your wearing plaine clothes makes them rich.

Qu. My chancellor will be in town shortly.

Wh. Your majesty is happy in such a servant of so great wifdome, experience, and fidelity.

Qu. He is a very able and honest man; he understands this buifnes well: I will give you a memoire concerning the Sundt.

It was not thought fitt by Whitelocke to presse this buifnes further, uppon this hint, that the chancellor was expected, whom he hoped to find a friend to him and his buifnes, as he really proved; and Whitelocke thought, that if he should proceed

1653. proceed too farre before the old man came, that he might be
 { displeased, which he was the more cautious to avoyd, uppon
 Jan. 5. something spoken by Mnr. Berkman.

This person was a burgher's son of Stockholm, and having travayled and gained some languages and learning, he was sent as secretary to Lagerfeldt into England, where he came acquainted with Whitelocke, who, being to take his journey as ambassador to Sweden, Lagerfeldt desired that Berkman might accompany Whitelocke in his voyage to take care of his accomodations: Whitelocke thought not fitt to deny this, though he believed, and found, that he would be rather a spye then a friend, and more chargeable then usefull.

Yett in the voyage he treated him with all courtesye, and, by discourse, gott as much as he could out of him, concerning the queen and her councells, and the publique persons and affayres of his countrey.

Att Gothenbergh he seemed officious, and from thence posted to court to acquaint them with Whitelocke's arrivall, and returned with great speed, and tooke pains by the way for Whitelocke's accomodations.

Att Ubsale, he was very conversant in Whitelocke's family, and respectfully used, and the more, because he had gotten a little english. Whitelocke disliked his peoples being much with him, who was excessively given to the common vice of tipling; and in his cuppes (as Whitelocke was this day informed by Mr. Claveing) he would abusively raunt against the common-wealth of England, and their ambassador, saying, that no justice could be had in England for the swedish ships detained there as prize; that he knew

no

no reason why the english ambaffador fhould have any 1653.
 refpect in Sweden, till their people had right in England ; ^{Jan. 5.}
 that the chancellor was expected fuddeinly heer, would
 take order that Whitelocke fhould not have fo much fa-
 vour heer, till the Swedes had more juftice in England ;
 with the like fpeeches.

Whitelocke tooke no notice heerof, butt (as ambaffadors
 muft doe) continued his civilities to Berkman ; butt when
 he was filled with good meate and drinke att Whitelocke's
 table, before him and others, Whitelocke tooke occafion to
 difcourfe of the fwedifh fhips carrying contrabande goods
 to the dutch, for which they were detained prize ; and
 vindicated the honor and juftice of the parlement, and their
 refpects to their friends, perticularly to the Swedes, wherof
 he gave instances ; which Berkman was then fo farre from
 contradicting, that he afferted the fame things with White-
 locke, who, inftead of contefting with Berkman, thought
 it better to ftop his mouth with twenty pieces of english
 gould, which he now gave him, to defray his expences
 from Gothenbergh to the court and back agayne, which he
 (after their cuftome) was not backward to accept ; and by
 that, and the promife of a future reward when the treaty
 fhould be finifhed, he was made ferviceable to it.

Matters of ceremonie are heer in great obfervance, and
 the neglect of them highly refented, and offensive : this
 caufed a great warynefs in Whitelocke not to offend in
 that omiffion, the performance wherof was cheape and
 eafy.

Therefore, he was therin obfervant to the great men, and
 efpecially to the queen ; and feeing the high efteem and
 pleafure which her majefty had of balles, dauncing, and
 muficke,

1653. musicke, which recreations being modestly and moderately used, he held indifferent things, and not unlawfull in themselves; and that it was fitt for him, being invited by the queen, to be present att them, att fitt times, lest he should be judged too severe and morose, and too much to censure those who used and delighted in them, and desired his company att them: and he having bin before invited to a ball, and refusing to come, bicause it was on the Lord's day, being now agayne solemnly invited from the queen herselfe, to a ball this night att court, he thought, if he should agayne refuse to come to it, the queen might be distasted, and thinke her favour slighted; he therefore resolved to go to the ball this night; and after nine a'clocke, the master of the ceremonies (in a speciall complement) brought two of the queen's coaches to attend him to the castle. When he came into the roome where the queen was, she bid him wellcome, with more then ordinary respect, and ledd him into a large roome, where she usually heares sermons, and, att other times, it is for musick and dauncing.

There was present a great number of ladyes and gallants; her chayre of state was uppon a foot carpet: a little distance from it, on the right hand, were five or six stooles, where Whitelocke sate next to the queen, and after him, prince Adolphe, and other grandees; on the left hand sate about twenty ladyes, very gallant, after the french mode. The queen's musick was in a place behind the chayre of state, seven or eight violins, with base violes, flutes, and citterns, perfecte masters.

The queen, with her ladyes and courtiers, first daunced the brawles, then french daunces, in which the lady Jane Ruthen tooke forth captain Whitelocke; and he and severall

rall others of Whitelocke's gentlemen were taken forth by the swedish ladies, to daunce english countrey daunces; wherein the english gentlemen were expert, and taught them some new ones. 1653.
Jan. 5.

The queen took delight in those english daunces, and herselfe daunced with more life and spirit then the rest of the ladies, or then any he had seen: she was pleased severall times to doe Whitelocke the honor to come to him, and discourse with him, whilst the rest were dauncing. She asked him, how he liked their sports? he told her, he liked them very well, and thought himselfe in England: she asked, why so? he answered, because he saw the sports and daunces of his own countrey so lively acted heer. After he had fully commended the dauncing, musick, and company, and her majesty, who was above all, about twelve a'clocke att night the meeting brake up, and Whitelocke was brought home agayne with the queen's coaches.

The ricks hough master Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne sent Whitelocke a piece of venison of an elke; and he invited the Grave and Mr. Woolfeldt to come eate of it with him att dinner to-morrow.

Mr. Woolfeldt, drolling with the queen, told her, that the english ambassador had wrought a great cure uppon the Holland resident, and had taught him a better garbe and deportment, since his coming to court, then he had before; for now he did not hold up his head so high as formerly, nor was his gate so light and frisking as it was before the comming of the english ambassador, who had therby much improved the resident. 6.

1653. Woolfeldt and Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne came to dinner to Whitelocke: Oxenstierne gave the precedence to Jan. 6. Woolfeldt, because he had bin ricks hough master of Denmarke; and such is the civility and courtesy of these countryes, that what charge soever a man hath once had in publique employement, as an ambassador, generall, senator, and the like, though he be afterwards out of those offices, yett the title and precedence, which he once had by them, is afforded to him during his life.

And whereas the custome of England is, that the master of the house takes precedence of all others in his own house, as Whitelocke now did; which, uppon intimation from the master of the ceremonies, he afterwards rectified, it being the usage of these countryes for the master to give precedence to all of quality that come to him in his house. The straunger goes first into it, hath the place att the table, sitting downe, and returning, goes first out; in which ceremonies they are very punctuall, and an ambassador setteth every one of the senatorian order, att his own table, before himselfe.

Prince Adolphe having appointed to give Whitelocke a visit this afternoon, Whitelocke appointed some of his lacquayes to attend and watch the prince's comming, and to give him timely notice therof, that he might meet the prince att the doore of his house; butt, through his servants neglect, Whitelocke mett the prince a few steppes short of his doore, and then excused his neglect to the prince, laying the fault uppon his servants, whose it was: yett the prince was not satisfyed, butt afterwards spake of it att court, and it came to the queen's eare, to whom also Whitelocke made an apology for it; and yett it was hardly pardoned.

The

The superintendent of Gothenbergh wrote a civill latin letter to Whitelocke, to pray him to take occasion, in his discourse with the queen, to mention the superintendent's son for some preferment, which Whitelocke thought not proper for him (being ambassador from a forrein state) to doe : butt having occasion given him by the queen in her discourse, he commended James Lennæus, the superintendent's son, to her majesty ; and it was his good fortune afterwards to have preferment.

1653.

Jan. 6.

Vifits were made by Whitelocke to Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne, who was senator, steward of the queen's house, and who had the charge of her sports of hunting, and the like : he and his father are both senators, and his uncle the chancellor, and his two sons senators, and of that name and family together senators.

7.

Also to Grave Bannier, governor of Upsale and the adjacent territory ; a gentleman well qualified, son to the general Banniere, of whom is frequent mention in the story of king Gustavus : and such is the honor of this state, that they are not only full of favour to their old servants themselves, butt likewise to their children and relations.

He also visited the baron Bond, a senator, a gentleman of good parts, and of an antient and honourable extraction ; some of his family having bin elected kings.

His name, Bond or Bundt, signifies as with us, a servant, or bond-man ; he had travayled much, and gayned languages, peticularly english, which he delighted to speake, and of England, where he had bin : he was kinsman to the chancellor, and in favour with him, which most of the grandees aimed att, next to the queen's.

Q q 2

These

1653. These gentlemen had first visited Whitelocke, and were
 Jan. 7. then, and at this time, full of civility and respect to him;
 and he had opportunity, by discourse with them, to facilitate the business of his negotiation, wherein he omitted no occasion.

The queen's Italian musicians came to hear the music in his house, and gave it great and due commendation.

The chancellor came to town this day, and sent Mr. Berkman to Whitelocke the same day to visit him, who made many expressions of civility, and complement to him, from the chancellor.

8. *The Lord's day*, yett after sermons Whitelocke thought fitt to send his son James to visit the chancellor, and to congratulate his safe arrivall at Upsale. Berkman accompanied James to the chancellor's lodging, who received the message with great respect, and the more (as Berkman said) because it was delivered in latin. He excused Whitelocke's ill intertainment by the way, and heer; which he said was not according as the queen desired: he made many professions of his respect to the common-wealth of England, and to their ambassador.

Yett was there no complement for a personal visit of one another: the master of the ceremonies, and others, pressed Whitelocke to make the first visit to the chancellor, as a complement expected from him, and which was done by other ambassadors to that great and prime minister of state the richs chancellor. Whitelocke told them plainly, that unlesse the chancellor did first visite him, that he would not visite the chancellor; and this he did for the honor of his nation, and believing (as it fell out) that for this carriage,
 6 though

though towards himselfe, the chancellor would have the 1653.
 better opinion of him. Att this distance they stood; White-
 locke refusing to give the first visit, bicause he was the am- Jan. 8.
 bassador of England, which he did heer represent, and the
 chancellor was a subject in his own countrey.

The queen heard of this, and seemed to expostulate why
 Whitelocke should not afforde her servant the same respect
 as other ambassadors did, and was told, that Whitelocke
 answered, that other mens actions must not guide his, nor
 could they answer for his actions; nor would he doe any
 thing which he doubted might reflect upon the honor of
 his nation, although others did so; that if no question had
 bin stirred about the first visit, he should not have insisted
 on it, butt the question being moved, he thought he could
 not doe it without prejudice to the right of England.
 The queen, when she saw Whitelocke would not be altered,
 said, that he did heerin like a person who understood
 his right, and was carefull of his nation's honor, which she
 commended, and said; she would take order that her chan-
 cellor should give Whitelocke the first visite.

Whitelocke was visited by the syndick of Gothenbergh,
 who had attended him in his journey to Upsale, and tooke
 much paynes upon the way, for horses, waggons, and
 other accommodations for Whitelocke and his people; in re-
 quital wherof, Whitelocke thought fitt to make him a pre-
 sent of thirty pieces of english gould, which, without scruple,
 was thankfully accepted.

Presently after dinner, the chancellor's secretary came 9.
 to Whitelocke with a message from his lord, to knowe if
 he would be within att two a'clock, the chancellor would
 come

1653. come to visit him: Whitelocke sayd, he should take his
 Jan. 9. visit for a great honor, and should be within.

About three a'clock the chancellor came: Whitelocke mett him att the doore of his house; he was in his coach with six horses, though his lodging was not farre of; ten or twelve gentlemen, well habited, walking on foot, and four lacquayes attended him.

Whitelocke offered to conduct him into a lower chamber, bicause he understood it was troublesom to the old man, to goe up so many stayres as to his roomes of intertainment; and he was willing to accept of this ease, and was brought by Whitelocke into his steward's chamber, which he had caused to be hung with his own rich hangings full of filke and gould: he desired to sitt with his backe, or one side, to the fire, saying, that the light of the fire was hurtfull to his eyes.

He was a tall, proper, streight, handsome, old man, of the age of seventy-one years; his habit was black cloth, a close coate lined with furre, a velvet cap on his head furred, and no hatt, a cloake, his hayre grey, his beard broade and long, his countenance sober and fixed, and his carriage grave and civill.

He spake latin, plaine and fluent, and significant; and though he could, yett would not speake *french*, saying, he knew no reason why that nation should be so much honored more then others, as to have their language used by strangers; butt he thought the *latin* more honorable, and more copious, and fitter to be used, bicause the Romans had bin masters of so great a part of the world, and yett, att present, that language was not peculiar to any people.

In

In his conferences, he would often mixe pleasant stories 1653.
 with his serious discourfes, and took delight in recounting
 former passages of his life, and actions of his king, and Jan. 9.
 would be very large excusing his senilis garrulitas, as he
 termed it, the talkativeness of old age : butt there was great
 pleasure to heare his discourfes, and much wifdome and
 knowledge to be gathered from them..

After complements passed, the chancellor fell into dis-
 course of the affayres of England, and the grounds of our
 troubles, and seemed much pleased with the information
 therein given him by Whitelocke, and spake himselfe very
 knowingly of those matters. He recited att large the send-
 ing of his eldest son ambassador to our late king, and how
 he was used, wherein he seemed to retaine some regret ; and
 he spake of the negotiations of Sir Thomas Rowe, and of
 Sir Henry Vane, in Germany, with all the passages therof ;
 and observed, that, when the swedish forces lay still, then
 our late king would putt them on ; butt when they had
 successe, he would then withdraw his assistance..

He mentioned the parvus Archipræful, and Weston
 Thesaurarius, and others, to have bin of the spanish
 faction, and went further, even to an indeavour to intro-
 duce popery ; butt Whitelocke said, that generally the
 good people of England did beare a great affection both to
 the affayres and person of king Gustavus..

They had full discourse about their buisnes, the present
 treaty : Whitelocke said to him ;

Wh. My lord, I come to offer that which I apprehend
 will be for the honor and advantage of both nations ; and I
 desire a dispatch as soon as conveniently may be, having
 many

1653. many affayres in England to attend, by reason of my charge there, and having left a great family in my own country.
 Jan. 9.

Ch. The common-wealth of England hath testified a very great respect to the queen, my mistris, and to the nation of Sweden, in sending your excellence ambassador hither. The queen hath told me, that she never received more contentment in conversing with any ambassador then with you ; and, for my part, I have a perticular affection to your person, which I shall be ready to manifest : and for the buisnes, I doe not doubt butt it will receive such a good issue, as shall be to the satisfaction of England, and of their ambassador. It is a matter of very great moment ; and as you in England have considered of it beforehand, so it is necessary to be considered by us heer, and there shall be no unnecessary delay in it.

Wh. I am happy in the queen's goodnes, and the respects of your excellence to a stranger : I hope there will be no need of much time for this buisnes, bicause many of the things, offered by me, are the same which were mentioned by the queen's publique ministers in England.

Ch. Many of those things are new, and of great consequence ; and as you have had your instructions from your superiors, so I must have my instructions from the queen, my mistris ; and there shall no long time passe, before the buisnes be brought to some ripeness.

Wh. Therin your excellence will doe me a great favour. I have heard that the queen intends to goe a journey shortly.

Ch.

Ch. It is so reported; but uncertaine; and, in case she doe goe, yett the buisnes will be left in the hands of some of her servants, who will proceed in it without delay, though her majesty be absent. 1653. Jan. 9.

Wh. Your favour to me in my dispatch will be acknowledged by your servant; and no person knowes better how to doe it then your excellence.

Ch. I have bin conversant in buisnes in my time, butt for many years I was under a clowde, and in some displeasure; wheruppon I thought fitt to retire myselfe to a private life in the countrey, where, after all my troubles and toying in the world, I did find more contentment, then ever I mett with in all my publique employments.

Wh. How could you frame yourselfe to such a folitary way of retirement, who had before spent all your dayes in the midst of a thronge of publique and great affayres? and, being old and unfitt for study, how could you passe your time in that privacy?

Ch. I had bin so much wearyed out in publique and great actions, that this retirement and quiet proved the greater contentment to me. Buisnes was a burden, and much company irkesome; yett I was able to spend some of my time in study; and chiefly, I may say solely, I did apply myselfe to the study of the bible, wherin is all wisdom, and the greatest delight to be found, and much more in the practice of that divine wisdom. You are a much younger man then I am, and possibly may have the like occasion of retirement as I had, butt doe not doubt of being in favour agayne; and I counsell you to make the study and practice of the word of God your chiefe contentment and delight,

1653. as it will be to every soul that savours the truths of God,
 which doe infinitely excell all wordly things.
 Jan. 9.

Wh. I shall remember your words, and thanke you for this good counsell of the truth; of what you say, I have formerly had some experience, and I hope that God will improve it to me in all conditions.

Att this meeting, the chancellor inquired much of Whitelocke concerning Cromwell's age, health, children, family, temper, &c. and sayd, that Cromwell was one of the gallantest men that this age had brought forth; and the things, which he had done, argued as much courage and wisdom in him, as any actions that the world had seen for many years. In which discourse, Whitelocke did not omit to doe right to the generall, and to the parlement; and informed the chancellor fully of their courses, actions, counsells, and successes: wherein the chancellor seemed to receive much contentment, and sayd, that he had discoursed with Whitelocke in the way of a friend, and as one that desired intimacy and familiar acquaintance with him; which was most willingly accepted by Whitelocke, who indeavoured to gaine the good opinion of the chancellor, wherein God so blest him, that it proved of great advantage to his business.

10. A visit was made by Whitelocke to Piementelle, who, in discourse, told him for newes, that an allyance was concluded between Holland and France, as he was certefied.

He told Whitelocke also, that his fleet, which attended him att Gothenbergh, in their returne to England fell uppon some dutch ships and tooke them. He heard likewise, that the post this weeke had bin robbed neer to Antwerpe,

werpe, so that he doubted whether they should receive this weeke's letters. 1653.

Jan. 10.

They had much generall discourse, the Spanyard being excellent good company; and in the conclusion of it, for a complement, Piementelle told Whitelocke, that to-morrow he would come and dine with Whitelocke, and bring his letters and papers along with him: for which freedome and kindnes Whitelocke heartily thanked him, and promised he should find a friendly wellcome.

The senator Bandt, the younger, gave Whitelocke a visite, and discoursed much of England.

Piementelle came with much kindnes and freedome, and dined with Whitelocke, who careffed him the best he could; and he seemed well pleased with his intertainement. After dinner they discoursed much of Spayne, France, Holland, and of England, and Whitelocke's negotiation: Piementelle told Whitelocke, that the last night, the queen saying, she had a desire to speake with Whitelocke, Piementelle offered to deliver her message to Whitelocke, which he now did; that her majesty desired to speake with him about three a'clock this afternoon. II.

Accordingly Whitelocke went to court, and was, without delay, admitted to the queen's presence, who told him, that she had a short journey to goe into the countrey, and that she desired to speake with him before her going, that he might not thinke she had any intention of delaying his buisnes; that she would returne to Upsale within eight days, and, in the time of her absence, she had appointed the chancellor to conferre with Whitelocke about the proposals he had given in to her: and she said, that, bicause

R r 2

Whito-

1653. Whitelocke was a stranger to her chancellor, she herself
 Jan. 11. would tell him the chancellor's condition, and how he
 should treat with him.

She then told Whitelocke, that her chancellor was an old man of great experience in buisnes, and perhaps, in conference with him, might propound or insift upon some things, which Whitelocke would not have expected; and that this might be with some earnestnes; that yett Whitelocke should doe well to debate freely and courteously with him; and if theruppon the chancellor would be satisfied, all would be well: butt in case he could not satisfy the chancellor, that then it must come to the queen, and that she would strike the stroake between them in any difference of opinion.

Whitelocke received this intimation with much thankfullnes, and looked upon the kindness and freedome of it from her majesty, as a very great testimony of her respect to the common-wealth of England and to their servant, and no small argument of her good inclinations to the buisnes propounded; which he indeavoured to improve to the best advantage therof.

He told the queen, that his buisnes was with her, and she only was to be the judge in all matters which he had propounded, or should propound; that he found her sufficiently capable to give her own resolutions upon the most difficult points; that she having bin pleased, as was necessary for her own ease, to referre the debate of these points to her chancellor, that he would attend, and indeavour to give him satisfaction, if reason and interest would doe it (as he hoped they would); if not, he was sure they would prevayle with her majesty, by whom he was glad he should receive

receive the determination of his business, to whom only it appertained, and whom he rather should waite upon in this, or any other business, then any person alive. 1653.
Jan. 11.

Then the queen fell into discourse concerning the opinions of religion in England; then touching consubstantiation, the power of God, the immortality of the soul, and the like; wherein she argued with much witt and knowledge, having had discourse upon the same matters with those learned men about her, whom she had gotten from all parts.

She was pleased to tell Whitelocke, that she received much satisfaction from him; she called for stooles, and sate herselfe, and caused Whitelocke to sitt downe; which favour she doth not afforde to other ambassadors; butt told Whitelocke, she heard that he was lame, and therefore she would sitt herselfe, that so he might sitt likewise, and not be putt to the pennance of standing so long time together as their discourse lasted: she desired Whitelocke not to acquaint any person whatsoever with some of the passages between them, which Whitelocke promised, and observed.

He then told her majesty, he was fearfull, lest, by his long stay (having bin above two howers with her), he might hinder her greater affayres, or be tedious; and he desired not to give her majesty offence, either in going or in staying: butt he heard that the danish ambassador was without, attending to speake with her majesty, to which she answered to Whitelocke, that his company was very pleasing to her, and that he need not to goe away bicause of the danish ambassador, who, she sayd, might waite still. In all the time of her discourse with Whitelocke, she used much freenes, and great respect to him; and, what he informed.

1653. formed her touching the affayres of England, she tooke for
 granted.
 Jan. 11.

12. This morning Lagerfeldt visited Whitelocke, with whom he discoursed touching his negotiation, and of the chancellor's sense of it, which, Lagerfeldt said, was very well, and he doubted not butt there would be a good issue of it. By conference with this gentleman, Whitelocke indeavoured to gett from him what he could of the chancellor's opinion, and discourse about it, Lagerfeldt being an intimate servant to the chancellor, altogether conversant with him; and Whitelocke so wrought the matter, that he gained much from him, especially after a kind and free intertainment, which Whitelocke often bestowed on him.

Grave Erick Oxenstierne visited Whitelocke. He is second son to the chancellor, a gentleman of excellent parts and personage, a senator, and in good repute with the nation, and favour with the queen. He had in possession (as was reported) for his own maintenance 10,000 l. sterling, for his yearly revenue, which was sayre for a younger brother in his father's life-time.

He first spake to Whitelocke in latin, and afterwards continued his discourse in french.

He gave a good description of the posts belonging to Sweden on the Baltick sea, perticularly of Stetin, Reuell, and Narva: Reuell he held to be the best port, butt Narva the nearest for the trade of Russia, and most convenient by the rivers for transportation of commodities, butt the entrance into the harbour is somewhat difficulte; that Riga also is of great advantage for the trade of hempe and flaxe.

When

When the boat was gone, Whitelocke visited the father, the chancellor, and had this discourse with him.

1653.

Jan. 12.

Wh. Yesterday I was with the queen, who told me, that she was going out of town, butt that she had referred the proposalls, which I tendered to her, to be conferred upon by yourselfe and me; and whensoever your excellencie will agree upon a time for our meeting, I shall be ready on my part.

Ch. The queen hath given me direction in that business; butt I cannot thinke of a time of meeting about it before her going away, bicause to-morrow I am to waite upon her, and on Satturday she intends to take her journey; after which, a time may be appointed to conferre about your business.

Wh. Your own time shall suite with my occasions.

Ch. In the meane while, I shall make some generall questions to you for my own satisfaction, which I hope you will not take amisse, nor esteem it a needles curiosity in me, or a blaming of your proceedings.

Wh. I shall endeavour your satisfaction, and with equall freedome of discourse.

Ch. I desire to know what stability and settlement there is in your common-wealth and government, and how it came to passe, that the late parlement, which they called by the late king's authority, was dissolved, and another constituted; which, some report, may probably be as soon dissolved as the other was; and then how shall our treaty have a good and fixt foundation?

Wh.

1653. *Wb.* It is very necessary, that, in the first place, you should have satisfaction in these points, without which, any conferences on particulars will be useless. We hold the government of England, as to the fundamentalls of it, to be the same now, as when we had a king; the same lawes, the same supreme power, and the same magistrates.

Jan. 12.

For in negotiations, matters of peace and warre, raising of monyes, and making of lawes, were the proper buisnesses of parlements in the time of our kings, so admitted by the best and most successfull of them; and though some of them, growing in power, would inroach more then others, yett all acknowledged the power of parlements in those matters, and so it is still.

Antiently, by our lawes, a new parlement was to be called every year, or oftener; it being the constitution of the english politie, not to have the supreme and legislative power continue too long in the same hand: butt there was a necessity, by reason of our troubles and ingagements, for the long continuance of the late parlement, and an act by consent of the king for it; and when after the troubles were ended, by the intire conquest of the parlement over their enemies, and God had given them peace and freedome, it was then thought reasonable, not only by others, butt by that parlement also, to putt a period to their own sitting, and a new parlement to be chosen. Butt before that day, the late parlement rose, and a new one was constituted, which is now sitting, for whose rising a day is also to be prefixed, and a new one to be chosen. And in case there should be a new parlement every year, or every moneth, though the persons be changed, yett it is a parlement still, and the government the same by parlement; which was the antient constitution of the politie of our nation,

tion, continued to our times, wherein the king was the 1653.
 supream officer; butt that office being taken away, and Jan. 12.
 the nation, by the same act of parlement, resolved into a
 common-wealth and free state, the government (as the
 same act declares) continues still by successive parlements,
 and I hope will continue so, without any daunger of un-
 settledness or change.

Ch. Doe you hold *kingly* government to be unlawfull,
 that you have abolished it?

Wh. Every government, which the people chooseth, is
 certainly lawfull, whether kingly or other; and that to be
 accounted best, which they, by their representatives, doe
 make choice of, as best for them and their condition.

Ch. You have given me a full and satisfactory account
 that you are a fixed common-wealth, with whom we may
 safely treat; and I would know what you *desire* of us.

Wh. I desire nothing from you; I come not to you in
 a precarious way, non ut cliens sed ut amicus: my buisnes
 is to make you an offer of that, which is worthy accept-
 ance by any prince in Europe; the friendship of the com-
 mon-wealth of England, which, if you please, upon just
 and honorable termes to imbrace, it will be for your ad-
 vantage as well as ours; if not, yourselves will have as
 much prejudice as any other by the refusall.

Ch. You are quick upon the apprehension of reflection
 upon the honor of your nation.

Wh. My affection and duety to my countrey will pleade
 in my excuse.

1653. *Ch.* I am so farre from censuring you for it, that I cannot butt commend you; and your humor gaines so much
 Jan. 12. uppon me, that though you will not be a suitor to us heer, for which you have reason, yett I will be a perticular suitor to you, that our acquaintance and friendship may be intimate and familiar; the which I have not bin used to pray from publique ministers, though I have had to deale with many of them.

Wh. You reprove me so fatherly, and putt so great an obligation and honor uppon me, that I cannot, with sufficient gratitude, acknowledge it, or hold myselfe worthy of so much honor from you: butt since your great judgement allowes it me, I shall not question, butt indeavour a merit of it, and promise to be a most faithfull servant to so noble a friend, who takes care of a stranger att so great a distance from his friends and countrey. And though I cannot make a suit on the behalfe of my superiors to this or any other state, yett, on the behalfe of myselfe, to you I can and doe make this suit; you have many sons adopted as well as natural, and persons of great esteem, that I might be held worthy to be ranked in their number. You are the greatest and the eldest chancellor in Christendome: I have something to doe in the chancery of England; give me leave to hold it under the title of your son, and I hope I shall not defame my father.

Ch. You deserve much more honor then is in my power to give you; if you account this any (as his royall highnes is pleased to take it) I doe most freely adopt you one of my sons, and therin take the honor to be done to myselfe, and shall assure you, by reall demonstrations, that I will have the care and affection of a father for you, and that not only

only in your present buisnes, butt in any other wherin you may be concerned.

1653.

Jan. 12.

This discourse and complement proved to the advantage of Whitelocke and his buisnes; and, after three howers' time (which he used not to afford to other ambassadors), it concluded with discourse of the earl of Essex (wherin Whitelocke was able to informe him); and he related to Whitelocke the passages of marques Hamilton in Germany with the english army, which, through want of knowledge in the marques in military affayres, and of care to provide for them, perished.

Berkman brought to Whitelocke the great newes of the dissolving the parlement in England, and that the generall was made supreame governour.

13.

Whitelocke asked him, if Lagerfeldt and the chancellor had newes of it; he sayd, they had, and that it was very certain, butt of the perticulars and manner therof he knew nothing: the same newes was brought to Whitelocke by Mr. Butler, a scottish merchant, out of the Holland gazettes, which related all to be in confusion in England.

Many thoughts heeruppon were fluctuating in Whitelocke's mind, and pondered by him; and he being desirous to see how this newes relished att court, and what countenance the queen would have towards him uppon such a change, he sent to desire an audience; and before his messenger returned, the queen sent Grave Tott to him, to congratulate the good news from England, and the acceffe of honor to his generall.

1653. In the afternoon Whitelocke attended the queen, and
 Jan. 13. was admitted into her bed-chamber, where she told him
 the newes with much seeming joy, and that Bonnele, and
 divers others, had written it from London; and asked him;

Qu. Have you yett received your letters of it?

Wh. Not yett, madame; butt have reason to believe the
 newes, and to expect your majesty's inclinations ther-
 uppon.

Qu. Par Dieu, I beare the same respect, and more to
 your generall and to you then I did before; and I had
 rather have to doe with one then with many.

Wh. I may very well believe it; and returne thanks to
 your majesty for the continuance of your respects to Eng-
 land, and to my generall, and to his servant: your maje-
 sty understands he hath a new title, butt his power was not
 meane before.

Qu. It was very great before, and I thinke it greater
 now, and therefore better for England, butt subject to
 envy; and I tell you, under secrecy, that my chancellor
 would formerly have bin so in Sweden, when I was young,
 butt could not attaine it: butt if he was my ennemy, yett
 I should say, that he is a wise and a gallant man; and if
 your generall were the greatest ennemy I have, yett I should
 give him his due, that he is a wise and brave man, and
 hath done the greatest things of any man alive. I much
 desire his friendship, and am heartily glad of his present
 condition.

Wh.

Wh. I shall not fayle to acquaint him fully with your
majesty's great respect to him.

1653.

Jan. 13.

This was looked upon by Whitelocke as a great confidence by the queen in him; and when, bicause he had not his letters, she agayne offred that they might be sent under her cover, and that Bonnele should take care of them, he mannerly waived it.

In the evening Whitelocke's letters were brought to him from the post, wherein Thurloe gave him a perticular account of the change in England, and the manner and all passages of it; and in his letters were new credentialls for Whitelocke to the queen, signed,

Vester bonus amicus,

OLIVARIUS.P.

He had also new instruction, signed alike, to proceed in the treaty with the queen, according to his former instructions; and he had the newes of the dutch treaty, upon this occasion a little att a stand, and the newes of France, and of forrein states relating to England.

He had also by this paquet a copy of the instrument of government agreed upon, and sworne by the protector to be observed upon this change.

He perceived that the queen and her court were very much pleased with it; many of her officers and servants expressed more then ordinary satisfaction by it. Whilest himselfe was ruminating upon it, one of the queen's secreta-ryes, by her order, came to Whitelocke, to whom he communicated part of his newes, and told him, that he desired

1653. to waite-uppon the queen agayne when her leifure would
 permit, this evening, or to-morrow.
 Jan. 13,

The fecretary went prefently to the caſtle, and returned
 anſwear to Whitelocke, that the queen deſired he would
 come to her that night, which he did, though very late,
 and between them was this diſcourſe ::

Qu. Sir, you are wellcome ſtill to me ; and, if poſſible,
 more then before the change.

Wh. Madame, it is your goodnes and favour to a gen-
 tleman, a ſtranger in your countrey, who truly honors
 your majeſty ; and you are pleaſed to ſhow much reſpect
 to my generall.

Qu. Your generall is a gallant man, and you are fitt to
 ſerve any prince in Chriſtendome.

Wh. I may without vanity thinke the better of him, and
 of myſelfe, bicauſe of your majeſty's judgement.

Qu. My judgement is, that your affayres in England are
 much amended, and better eſtabliſhed, by this change then
 before.

Wh. We hope that our God will give us a ſettlement ; and
 we have found much of his favour therein already, and
 doubt not of the continuance therof to us.

Qu. Is your new government by a *protector* different
 from what it was before as to monarchy, or is the altera-
 tion in all points ?

Wh.

Wh. The government is to be the same as formerly, by 1653. successive representatives of the people in parlement; only ^{Jan. 13.} the protector is the head, or chiefe magistrate, of the common-wealth.

Qu. He is a gallant man; and I pray lett him know, that no person hath a greater esteem and respect for him then I have.

Wh. I presume then, that his letters to your majesty will not be unwellcome.

Qu. They shall be most wellcome to me.

Wh. I then present these new credentialls to your majesty from his highnes my lord protector.

Qu. What is the reason that the protector's name is putt first in the letters?

Wh. The protector's name, signed by himselve, is att the bottome of the letter; and the naming of him first is because he writes to your majesty, and is the constant forme in England used to all other princes and states.

Qu. If it be used to other princes I am satisfied, and expect no other. What is the substance of your new government?

Wh. I shall shew your majesty the instrument of our new government, wherof a cobby is sent me; and I shall reade such parts of it to your majesty in french, as may satisfy you.

Then

1693. Then Whitelocke read unto the queen some parts of the
 Jan. 13. instrument of government; and, when he came to the title,
 she sayd,

Qu. Why is the title, Protector, when the power is kingly?

Wh. I cannot satisfy your majesty of the reasons of this title, being att so great a distance from the inventors of it.

Qu. New titles, with soveraign power, proved prejudiciall to the state of Rome.

Wh. One of your majesty's auncestors was not permitted to keep the title of Marshall of Sweden.

Qu. He was afterwards king; and that will be next for your protector.

Wh. That will not be so consonant to our commonwealth as it was to your crown.

Qu. It is an honor to our nation, that you have looked into the story of it.

Wh. It is the duty of an ambassador to study the history of that crown to which he is employed.

Qu. It becomes you well; butt why is your new government so severe against the roman catholiques?

Wh. It is not more severe against them then it was formerly, and in some things lesse.

Qu.

Qu. Methinkes that you, who stand so much for liberty, 1653.
should allow it to them, as well as to others, in a tolleration of them. Jan. 13.

Wh. Their principles are held contrary to the peace of the nation, and therefore they are not tollerated the publique exercise of those principles: they hold your majesty's profession and ours to be hereticall, and a forrein power to be above you, and above our common-wealth.

Qu. Those among them, who understand themselves, are of another opinion; and it is pittie they should be persecuted for their conscience sake.

Wh. We are not for persecution in any point of conscience; butt we expect a submission to the civill magistrate, and nothing to be done to the disturbance of our peace.

Qu. That is fitt to be preserved with all care. Is your protector sacred as other kings are?

Wh. He is not anointed and crowned; those ceremonies were not used to him.

Qu. His power is the same with that of king, and why should not his title have bin the same?

Wh. It is the power which makes the title, and not the title the power; our protector thinks he hath enough of both.

Qu. He is hardly a mortall man then; butt he hath brought his buisness notably to passe, and hath done great things,
VOL. I. T t

1653. things: I give you my hand for it, that I have a great value
 of him:
 Jan. 13.

Wh. Madame, I kisse your hand with all gratitude for your favours, and do assure your majesty, that the protector hath a high honor for your majesty, and shall not want information of your very great respects to him.

14. Uppon the receipt of his new credentialls, Whitelocke held it requisite to give in a paper to the queen, to acquaint her of his being impowred to proceed in the treaty with her majesty; the english paper he signed, butt not the latin copy; both heer followe.

“ Madame,

“ I have received commaunds from his highnes my honored lord, the lord protector of the common-wealth of
 “ England, Scotland, and Ireland, and dominions therto
 “ belonging, to lett your majesty know, and I do accordingly heerby acquaint your majesty, that the late alteration of the government in England hath made no change
 “ in the good intentions on that side towards your majesty
 “ and your dominions; butt that your majesty shall find the
 “ same readines in his highnes, the lord protector, to maintain and increase all good intelligence and correspondence with your majesty and your crown, as in any the
 “ former governors of those nations; and to that end his
 “ highnes hath authorized me to proceed in my present negotiation.

Ubsale, Jan. 14.
 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The

The latin copy of the paper was thus :

1653.

Jan. 14.

“ Serenissima ac potentissima regina,

“ In mandatis habeo à celsitudine sua domino meo colendissimo, domino protectore reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, et dominorum illis appertinentium, ut certiore facerem majestatem vestram, quod et juxta mandata jam facio, commutatam politiam Angliæ nullam fecisse mutationem benevolorum animorum, ex ea parte, erga majestatem vestram, experturam eandem promptitudinem in celsitudine sua, domino protectore, ad conservandam et augendam bonam omnem intelligentiam ac correspondentiam cum majestate vestra ac regno vestro, quæ in quovis antecedentium gubernatorum prædictarum nationum unquam fuisset ; et propterea celsitudo sua mihi potestatem dedit, ut procederem in hac præsentī mea negotiatione.”

This was according to Whitelocke's new instructions ; and her majesty desiring from Whitelocke a french copy for herselfe of the articles of treaty which he had delivered in to her formerly, both of english and latin (the latin copy wherof she had given to the chancellor), Whitelocke now sent her the french translate of the articles, with this letter.

A sa tres excellente Majesté madame la Reyne de Suede.

“ Madame,

“ J'ai dilligement reveu tous mes papiers pour pouvoir trouver la traduction françoise des articles que je presentai a votre majesté, et n'ai peu trouver que la premiere copie, qui n'est pas propre à estre presenté à votre majesté ; mais plus tost que de me rendre desobeissant à vos commandements,

T t 2

1653. " ments, j'ai mesmes envoyé ceste incluse, ensemble ma
 Jan. 14. " tres humble requeste, qu'il plaise à votre majesté me par-
 donner ceste ci, et toutes les autres fautes, du

" tres humble serviteur

Le 14. de Janvier,
 1653.

" de votre majesté,

" BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE."

To her most excellent Majesty the Queen of Sweden.

" Madame,

" I have diligently perused all my papers to have found
 " the french translation of the articles which I presented to
 " your majesty, butt I could only find the first copy, which
 " is not fitt to be presented to your majesty ; butt, rather
 " than be disobedient to your commaunds, I have sent it
 " heer inclosed, together with my most humble suit, that
 " your majesty would be pleased to pardon this and all other
 " the faults of

" the most humble servant


" of your majesty,

January 14. 1653.

" BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE."

This letter, and the papers, he sent to the queen, that
 she might have them before she went her journey.

15. This *Lord's day*, early in the morning, the queen tooke
 her journey to see her mother ; and it is the usuall time of
 travayle in this countrey : her conveyance was by sleddes,
 the easiest and most speedy way for a journey in the winter
 time. They wrap themselves warme with furies, and the
 snow

Now is so hard frozen over as ice, that it beares the horse 1653.
and fledde; and they passe over rivers, lakes, and armes of 
the sea, the nearest way to their journey's end. Jan. 15.

Some of Whitelocke's family, and others that came to him, hinted divers objections as to Whitelocke's proceeding in this treaty upon the change of government; which objections, and their answers, are heer collected and summed up together.

1. Obj. That Cromwell, who had his commission from the parlement, who were his masters, had by force turned them out of their authority, and now by this change had invested himselfe in the supream administration of affayres; and, by acting under his authority, thus unduely and unworthily gayned, were to countenance such actions, and therby to pertake of the crimes themselves.

Ans. If Whitelocke had bin party to Cromwell's violent and unjust actions, the crimes had bin his likewise; butt Whitelocke being a stranger to them, and patient under them, and att a great distance from Cromwell when he thus invested himselfe with regall authority; and being att that time in the midst of a negotiation, the effecting wherof was of great concernment to the honor and safety of his native countrey, and of the good people there, which might be in much hazard in case Whitelocke did not proceed in his buisnes, that it would be excusable with all good men if he continued to act therin, though not for the authorities sake, yett for the buisnes and for his countryes sake.

2. Obj. That there was no lawfull power from whence Cromwell's power was derived, and therefore to act under him was unlawfull.

1653. **Ans.** The former answear serves in part to this objection; and bicause Cromwell did unlawfully assume a power to himselfe, it follows not, that therefore a just and lawfull buisnes ought to be neglected and lost, rather then for a messenger or publique minister to proceed to act under an usurped authority, butt not by the means of that minister. To act unlawfull things under a lawfull power, is lesse to be justified, then to continue to act honest and lawfull things tending to publique good, though under an unlawfull power, when they cannot be done otherwise; and if they be neglected, daunger will insue to his country.

Jan. 15.

3. **Obj.** That, since the accession of power to Cromwell, he had neglected Whitelocke, having omitted him out of his counsell, though in this present employment: and what encouragement or gratitude could be expected from him, who, in the beginning of the change, had putt such a discountenance uppon an ambassador then in actuall service.

Ans. It seemed some answear, that Cromwell had not fitted up the number of his counsell, and possibly he might reserve a place for Whitelocke; if not, his neglect to Whitelocke ought not to cause Whitelocke to neglect his countryes good: and for reward or gratitude, he was to expect little from Cromwell's hand, who used to forget the instruments as soon as the worke was done; butt his reward was to be expected from a higher protector; and his inward satisfaction, that heerin he should serve God and good men, would be a recompence of all his paynes and hazards.

4. **Obj.** That there was an act of parlement in force, that to promote any single person to be chiefe magistrate in England was high treason; and to act under Cromwell's authority, who had made himselfe chiefe magistrate, might,
uppon

uppon another change, be interpreted high treason within that act.

1653.
Jan. 15.

Anf. Whitelocke being no party to the setting up of this single person; nor that could possibly hinder or oppose it; his acting under this authority as a publique minister, ingaged before in the same buisnes, might be interpreted the promoting of the treaty, and of his countryes good, butt not of a single person to be chiefe magistrate, and so consequently not to be within that act of high treason.

5. Obj. That Whitelocke having taken the ingagement to be true and faithfull to the common-wealth of England, as the same is now established without a king or house of lords; if he should now act under this single person, invested with regall authority, to the dissolving of that common-wealth, this would be taken as a breach of that ingagement, and of being unfaithfull to that common-wealth.

Anf. The ingagement was a solemn thing; and how is it to be faithfull to that common-wealth, when one acts under a single person that destroys it? if the common-wealth be destroyed, and there be no such thing in being, how can one be faithfull to that which is not? All casuists agree, that, if a government be altered and another power in possession of it, all private men are bound to submit to the present powers, bicause they are ordained of God; and a former government, the object of obedience, ceasing, the obligation to that obedience also ceaseth, where the protection ceaseth: the obedience is not required, butt where the protection is given. That if Whitelocke had bin party to, or acting in the destroying of the common-wealth, the sin had lyen att his doore,

1653. doore, and he had bin untrue and unfaithfull; butt he being a meer stranger to that act, and to the usurpation by the single person, and att this great distance, finding that single person by other's acts invested with his great power, it is no unfaithfulness in him, under this new authority, to proceed to doe service for the same nation, from whom, and for whose good, he was imployed hither; especially when, if he should desist from his negotiation, that nation and common-wealth would receive great prejudice thereby, particularly in the continuance of a warre upon them: and he might be accounted neither true nor faithfull to the interest of his countrey, whom he now serves, by bringing mischief on them through his neglect.

Most of the sober people with him were of this judgement for his proceeding; and they urged to him his own and all their condition, who were with him in a strange countrey, so farre from home, where none of them could have any credit to take up money or supply their necessities, butt as they were enabled by the present power in England, nor meanes for their transportation home; butt should be left heer in a condition so void of help and necessary subsistence, as would bring them all to a very sad and miserable posture, which they hoped that he, who was their ruler, would not bring himselfe or them unto.

16. A visit was given by Whitelocke to the french resident, with whom he had much discourse concerning the king his master, and of the late hostile passages between some of his subjects and the english, which the resident applyed only to particular persons, and affirmed, that his master had thoughts of friendship towards this common-wealth, and that the kindness, which he showed to the king of Scotts, was occasioned by the relation of blood between them.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke was willing to improve this friendlyneſs between them, and all good underſtanding between the two nations. 1653.
Jan. 16.

They had further diſcourſe about the countrey of Sweden, which the reſident much diſcommended, and the want of accomodations in their common innes, butt much extolling the convenience of them in his countrey roades, wherein Whitelocke could joyne with him by experience, and did not forget the convenience for travaylers in England: other of their diſcourſes are not neceſſary for a repetition.

Whitelocke received a viſit from the ſpaniſh reſident, who diſcourſed much of the queen, and of her power and intereſt in the kingdome, and the great officers therof, and particularly of the chancellor and other miniſters.

Piementelle affirmed, that the queen had as great a power over all her miniſters, and as great an intereſt in the affections of the people, and as full an obedience from them, and from all ſorts of officers, both civill and military, great and inferior ones, as any prince in Europe had; and that he found it ſo by his long obſervation of paſſages in this countrey: and though Whitelocke was not clear in that point all this time, yett afterwards he was fully convinced by experience of the truth of this obſervation.

The chancellor having ſent before, according to cuſtome, he came to Whitelocke's houſe; and between them was this diſcourſe. 17.

Wh. I had thoughts to have waited on your excellence this day, to have putt you in mind of my buiſnes, and to deſire that a progreſſe might be made therein: my occasions in

1653. England, in respect of my charge there and of my private family, requiring my returne with all convenient speed.
Jan. 17.

Chan. I doubt not butt that your employments in England are very considerable, and that you may justly desire a speedy returne to them and to your family; and to further that I have desired this conference with you.

Wh. You will pardon my earnest desire of returning home, especially uppon the great alteration which hath happened since my being abroad.

Chan. Indeed there hath bin a great alteration among you, pulling down one and setting up another, abolishing kingship (as you terme it) and resolving yourselves into a republique, and now againe setting up another monarchy; which incertainty in your government may occasion some doubt how the treatyes, made with you, may be observed.

Wh. Government is not changed, though a new head be made; the body of the lawes and magistracy remaine the same they were before; and certainly the nation and people of England, on whose behalfe treatyes are made, do remaine the same still, and will give due observance to forrein treatyes, whosoever is the chiefe governor, or in whose name soever they are made; and the same objection lyeth uppon the death of every prince, as uppon the late alteration in England.

Chan. How could your parlement justify the deposing of your king, nay, the putting of him to death, and that by a publique tryall, he being a king, what faults soever you could charge him with: other nations have sometimes caused their kings to be made away secretly, or have expelled them;

butt you, in the face of all princes and of the whole world, 1653.
 proceeded agaynst him as a common criminory person, as a ^{Jan. 17.}
 subject rather then as a king, and tooke away his life in
 this manner, unwarrantable by any law divine or humane.

Wh. I suppose you doe not expect from me heer, where I
 am under the protection of a soveraigne queen, or else where,
 a justification of that proceeding; I had no hand in it, and
 those who had, by authority of the parlement, I believe
 held it more justifiable to proceed in an open tryall, than by
 secret means to take his life away: their reasons and grounds
 for the action concerneth themselves, and is not my present
 buisnes; nor is the lawe the same in all cuntryes in cases
 of the like nature and example.

Chan. It was exemplary with a wittnes, or rather minatory
 to all princes of the world; yett I must confesse, it was more
 honorable to proceed in an open avowed way then by un-
 derhand dealing to have cutt him of: and for the laws of
 every cuntry we must leave them to what is theirs, and
 their actions are to answear to their own laws.

Wh. If you are not so satisfied with our government, that
 it is such as you may safely proceed in the treaty with me,
 my stay heer is to smalle purpose.

Chan. Truly I am satisfied that we may safely proceed in
 the treaty with you, it being a nationall buisnes, and not
 personall; and therefore shall not doubt of the due observance
 of what shall be agreed between the two nations.

Wh. I am glad you are so cleerly satisfied, and could not
 butt assure myselfe, that a person of your wisdom

1653. and judgement could not be otherwise, upon your due
 consideration of our affayres.
 Jan. 17.

Chan. It is your reason and full information of me, whereby I have this satisfaction more then my own judgement; and I doe like your settlement the better, bicause the power of the protector is limited by your lawe: there remaines nothing for him now to do butt to gett him a back and breast of Steele.

Wh. Without limitation in the power of a chiefe magistrate, it will be hard to distinguish him from a tyrant: butt what meaneth my father by a back and breast of Steele?

Chan. I meane the confirmation of his being protector to be made by your parlement, which will be his best and greatest strength.

Wh. For your further satisfaction of the settlednes of government, I have caused the writing or instrument, agreed upon in our last change, to be translated into latin, that you may peruse it.

Chan. Is the protector and the people bound to an observation of this instrument?

Wh. This is agreed upon, as to the rule of government, to oblige both the people to obey it, and the protector to governe according to it.

Chan. From whom is this power derived, and given to the protector? and who had power to ordaine it to be binding to the people?

Wh.

Wh. The parlement, then sitting, found the peace of the 1653. common-wealth in daunger to be againe disturbed, and the many divisions in the nation hardly to be cured; they ther-
 upon judged it the best and most expedient way, to prevent the mischiefs threatened, to make choice of a head of the common-wealth, and the generall to be the fittest and wor-
 thiest person for that office and trust; and therefore they, by a solemne writing, did resigne their power and authority into the hands of the generall, and desired him to accept of the government as chiefe magistrate, under the title of protector: and to this, the officers and soldiers of the armies and navies, the magistrates of London, the principall judges of England, and divers noblemen, gentlemen, and persons of quality and faithfullness to the common interest and peace of the nation, did assent, and were present in a solemne meeting, where he was sworne to observe this instrument; and the people generally, by their acclamations, testified their agreement therunto.

Chan. This seems to be an election by the sword, and pre-
 vailing party of the nation; and such precedents in other
 countryes have proved daungerous and not durable.

Wh. God hath thus ordered it; and I heare there is a ge-
 nerall acquiescence and submission to it, and the supream
 law of *salus populi* seemed to require this change: and
 though he were the generall that is chosen to be the head,
 yett the soldiers were not sole but joint actors in this de-
 signation.

Chan. Such military elections of the Roman emperors, and
 in other nations, proved fatall to the publique peace and
 liberty.

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* I hope this may prove a means for the conservation
 of our peace and freedom.
 Jan. 17.

Chan. Doe you hold this to be an election, or rather a military, imposition of your chiefe governor?

Wh. It is certainly a very generall agreement of persons in power and authority, and of principall interest in the nation, to sett up this government, and therefore may be hoped to continue as firme as those elections of kings by a few great men only, and was used in yours and the neighbour countryes by the senators.

Chan. Those elections by the senators, formerly made, traysed great factions, and occasioned much civill war and misery; therefore our Ricksdagh judged it necessary to alter that course of elections of our kings, and to settle the crown in an hereditary succession, which proves more peacefull and prosperous then those elections.

Wh. This was a great change, yett forein treatyes were still kept with you: I was borne under hereditary kings, and doe not disprove of that government; yett I hope our common-wealth, as now constituted, will also flourish and afford liberty and advantage to the people under it, and be as fixed as any other; and if you (my noble father) have as good an opinion therof as I have, our treaty will have the better issue.

Chan. The great doubt will be of the permanency therof, you being so much subject to changes; and then how will our treatyes be observed?

Wh.

Wh. I suppose that the treatyés, which you made with 1653.
 other states in the names of your elective kings, doe yett re-
 maine good, and are observed in the time of your hereditary ^{Jan. 17.}
 queen: I come not to treaté with you concerning the in-
 terest of my generall, now protector, butt concerning the
 interest of England, and on the behalfe of the common-
 wealth and people of England to treaté with the crown of
 Sweden, and on the behalfe of the people of Sweden; and
 whither the head of either people be called king or queen, or
 protector, and the nation be called a common-wealth or a
 kingdome, yett the people's interest is the same, and of
 equall force att one time or another.

Chan. Son, I am satisfiéd with your reasons, and con-
 vinced that we may safely proceed in a treaty with you.

Wh. I durst not offer any thing to your great judgement,
 butt what I apprehended to carry reason with it, and know
 to be trueth.

Chan. I have had the honor to treaté with very many
 publique ministers, butt never received more reason, satis-
 faction, and contentment from any then from yoursele; and
 that you may perceive me to have the affection of a father
 towards you, I shall not only by my words, butt by my
 actions, indeavour to testify the same. I have heard of your
 honorable charge att home, and of your numerous family,
 and know what it is to be att such distance as you are from
 them; and therfore hold it the more generous and just to
 indeavour your speedy dispatch to them, and that with sa-
 tisfaction to you.

Wh. You will heerin doe an act of much respect to my
 superiors, and favour to your son, whom you cannot more
 oblige.

1653. oblige then by such a satisfactory conclusion of the business
 which I heer attend.

Jan. 17.

Chan. There is yett another objection uppon your new credentialls, wherein is omitted the usuall clause to assure a confirmation by your superiors of what you shall agree.

Wh. This clause of confirmation is in my commission under the great seal of England, by which authority I am inabled to act still in this treaty, and to which my new instructions doe referre ; and therefore was not thought necessary to be repeated in my new credentialls.

Chan. That answers my objection : I shall send to you for another meeting, when we will proceed uppon your articles.

Wh. I shall willingly attend you.

18. By agreement, Whitelocke went to the chancellor's house, and brought with him his articles, which the chancellor and he read all over together, and afterwards read them againe by parts.

To the first article the chancellor made no objection, butt seemed to agree to it ; to the second article the chancellor, with a long harangue, spake to this effect.

Chan. In these proposalls (as it seems to me) two things
 “ are contained ; first, that which belongs to mutuall friend-
 “ ship, correspondence, and commerce between the two
 “ nations, and is of the lesse difficulty ; the second relates
 “ to the league offensive and defensive, and of the conserv-
 “ ing

“ ing of the interest of both nations, wherein is more dif- 1653.
 “ ficulty; and the state of either nation is to be considered. }
 Jan. 18.

“ As to what concerns the common-wealth of England,
 “ it is not to be doubted butt that, att present, it is involved
 “ in warres, wherein the Swedes must necessarily involve
 “ themselves also, if they agree unto your second article.

“ As to what concerns the kingdome of Sweden, they
 “ enjoy peace with all, and are not troubled with any warre;
 “ and although, in former times, they have waged war with
 “ their neighbours, to wit, the Danes, Polles, and Musco-
 “ vites, and in Germany, yett now all matters are trans-
 “ acted by them in peace and friendlyness.

“ In Germany, generall Levan and generall Ruthen,
 “ two of your countrymen, did gallant service to the
 “ crown of Sweden, and received rewards answerable to
 “ their merit, when they departed for Scotland, about the
 “ beginning of your British tumults: I foretold to them
 “ what they afterwards found came to passe.

“ The ground of the war between my king and Poland
 “ was most just, and provoked by them, wherein he had
 “ succeffe; and likewise against the Muscovite, who dealt
 “ unjustly with us, and both came to a happy issue and
 “ good peace on the part of Sweden.

“ The Dane committed so many injurious acts against
 “ Sweden, contrary to their former leagues with us, that
 “ Sweden was necessitated, for the conservation of their
 “ state and interest, to trye it out by force and war with
 “ Denmarke.

1653. " In the prosecution of which affayres, no prince or
 ~~~~~  
 Jan. 18. " common-wealth gave any assistance, either in action or in  
 " counsell, unto Sweden.

" And although it was propounded to the ambassador of  
 " France, then negotiating in Sweden, that he would ap-  
 " pear either in assistance or counsell, he gave this answear,  
 " that he had nothing in commaund from his king about  
 " this matter.

" And when likewise it was represented to the dutch am-  
 " bassador, then also residing in this court, and their interest  
 " as to trade and traffique by the Sundt, they gave the same  
 " answear as the french ambassador had done before.

" Att the same time the queen of Sweden sent letters to  
 " the parlement of England, wherby she desired the ad-  
 " vice of the parlement, and offered that they should be in-  
 " cluded in the treaty of peace with the Dane, as to what  
 " concerned the trade of England att the Sundt ; butt it  
 " pleased not the parlement of England to give any answear  
 " uppon that affayre, before the peace was concluded be-  
 " tween the Swedes and Danes.

" During all the time that I had the care and management  
 " of the swedish affayres, and after the queen tooke uppon  
 " her the government, nothing was done to the prejudice  
 " of the parlement of England, butt their party ever was  
 " and still is favoured by us : and since the late government  
 " and your protector constituted, I have better hopes of the  
 " establishment and prosperity of your common-wealth then  
 " I had before.

" Yett

“ Yett as a counsellor of the kingdome of Sweden, and 1653.  
 “ as a delegate appointed by the queen in this matter, it be- Jan. 18.  
 “ comes me to foresee, that the kingdome of Sweden, now  
 “ in quiet, be not ingaged in forein warres, the which will  
 “ necessarily come to passe, if your second article be agreed  
 “ unto; and therefore it deserves the greater consideration.

“ I desire you to excuse my length of speaking: my king  
 “ would always afford me the liberty of speaking att large  
 “ to him; and if any fault might be imputed to that king,  
 “ it was this, that sometimes he would be very chollerick;  
 “ it was his temper, and he was wont to say to me, thou  
 “ art too phlegmatick, and if somewhat of my heate were  
 “ not mingled with thy phlegme, my affayres would not  
 “ come to so good effect as they doe; to whom, with his  
 “ leave, I would answear and say to him:

“ Sir, If my phlegmatick temper did not mingle some  
 “ coolenes with your heate, your affayres would not be so  
 “ prosperous as they are: att which answear the king would  
 “ laugh heartily, and give me my freedome of speaking  
 “ fully to him; and I aske your leave, in the transacting of  
 “ our affayres, that I may speake freely and fully to you  
 “ uppon all occasions.”

“ *Wh.* Father, you have it in your own power to afford  
 “ yourselfe as much of your time as you thinke fitt for the  
 “ consideration of these proposalls; and the more of your  
 “ time you allow for your discourse with me, the more is  
 “ my happiness and great contentment.

“ As to this negotiation, my earnest desire is, that it may  
 “ be brought to a conclusion as soon as may be, it being  
 “ uncertain how soon I may be recalled by my lord protector

1653.

Jan. 18.

“ That, which you have materially urged, relates to other countryes, and not to England.

“ Touching your interest with other countryes, you will expect little to be answered by me, a stranger to it ; only I may observe, that neither the Muscovites, Polles, Germans, or your nearest neighbours the Danes, are apprehended to be so firme friends unto you, that they will neglect any opportunity or advantage to breake with you, and to do you prejudice and themselves a benefit. : and although (blessed be God) you have peace with all att present, yett how soon you may have warres you know not, against which it is good to provide before-hand ; and my second article will be a good preventive therof and support, if such a war shall breake out against you, which you may foresee not to be unlikely in a short time.

“ As to that, which you last mentioned, touching the letters sent to our parlement, and no timely answer of them ; I remember those letters came anno 1643, when our affayres were in the greatest distraction ; yett, upon the first opportunity, answer was returned by colonel Potley from the parlement to her majesty, and to my knowledge our parlement have ever expressed to the queen and to her chancellor all friendship and affection.

“ Concerning the war between us and Holland, it was injuriously brought upon us, without any wrong or provocation on our part, and so it hath bin approved in the defence and conquests which God pleased to bestow on us ; therefore my coming hither is not to implore a charitable assistance to a common-wealth reduced unto straits (as our queen Elizabeth afforded to these Hollanders), butt I come to offer to the queen and kingdome of Sweden the  
“ alliance

“ alliance of a common-wealth, by the blessing of God, filled 1653.  
 “ with victorious successes against all her enemies, and her <sup>Jan. 18.</sup>  
 “ affairs in a settled and good condition; and doe pro-  
 “ pound, by my second article, equally (if not more) advan-  
 “ tage and honor to the Swedish nation, then what England  
 “ may expect to herselfe thereby.

“ By what is proposed in that article against all those who  
 “ shall endeavor to hinder the free commerce of either na-  
 “ tion in the Sundt, if, by a conjunction with England, the  
 “ navigation and commerce in the Sundt and Baltick sea  
 “ be preserved free, it will be much more benefit to the  
 “ crown of Sweden then to the common-wealth of England;  
 “ and the same is not yett free for us or you, therefore my  
 “ second article seems not unequal. And for that which  
 “ concerns mutuall assistance, it is left to subsequent con-  
 “ sideration, and to such agreements as hereafter shall be  
 “ particularly made thereupon.

“ It is also observable, that it is not so much advantage  
 “ to England, as it may be to other countries, to have a  
 “ war; and Sweden is not without ill-willers, and by this  
 “ second article is to have mutuall assistance from us.”

*Chan.* “ It is well known to me, that Sweden hath  
 “ many enemies and ill-willers; yett at present we enjoy  
 “ peace, and England is engaged in a navall war.”

*Wh.* “ That is true, and by the blessing of God very  
 “ prosperous, and whereby the power and force of the  
 “ English navy is made appear to all; and that seems to me  
 “ no reason why her friendship should be the lesse valued.

“ *Chan.*

1653. *Chan.* " I shall desire your exposition of the third article :  
 Jan. 18. " what doe you meane by the words *lawes and ordinances*  
 " *there ?*"

*Wh.* " I meane the lawes of the common-wealth of England  
 " in England, and the lawes of the kingdome of Sweden in  
 " Sweden, equally necessary to either nation as to the  
 " peace, trade, and tolles, which are directed by certain re-  
 " spective lawes of both nations."

*Chan.* " I am satisfied heerin, and shall come to the  
 " fourth article, to which I must say, that there are divers,  
 " now living in Sweden, who were formerly of the king of  
 " England's party, and are now inhabitants and pos-  
 " sessors of estates in Sweden ; and it would not be just to  
 " expell and cast them out of this countrey."

*Wh.* " The fourth article mentions those, who shall de-  
 " signe or attempt any thing against our common-wealth ;  
 " and those English, who are become dwellers heer, are not  
 " excluded from the grace and favour of the parlement ;  
 " neither as rebells against them to be harboured heer, more  
 " then rebells against the crown of Sweden are to be har-  
 " boured in England : butt I shall assent to any reasonable  
 " or equall alteration to be made in the matter of that  
 " article."

It being now past eleven a'clock, the hower of the Swedes dinner time, Whitelocke would not longer detain the chancellor ; butt, appointing another time of meeting, they ended this daye's conference.

19. Lagerfeldt, the great creature of the chancellor, came to Whitelocke, possibly to find how the chancellor's objections  
 to

to Whitelocke yesterday did relish with him, who, apprehending the designe, made some use of this visit to the advantage of the treaty. 1653. Jan. 19.

Lagerfeldt argued the points over again; Whitelocke was not warme in his answers, butt seemed, in a careless way, not so much to mind the buisnes as he had done before: this caused Lagerfeldt to urge the more to know Whitelocke's intentions, who then told him, he had come a long and daungerous journey from England to this place; that now he hoped his longed for time of returning home was neer, and whither with an agreement or disagreement to what he had proposed would not disquiet or hinder him, who perceived, by the chancellor's objections and insisting on them, that an agreement was not much to be expected; yett he should have contentment in that he had discharged his duety.

Lagerfeldt seemed troubled att these expressions, and asked Whitelocke why he doubted a speedy and good agreement in his buisnes.

Whitelocke answered, bicause he had already indured many delayes, and saw little inclination to receive satisfaction to objections.

Lagerfeldt replied, that extraordinary occasions had caused the delayes; that the chancellor was an old man, and not so nimble in buisnes as he had bin; butt he knew that his excellence had a very great affection both for Whitelocke's buisnes and person.

Whitelocke said, that he propounded nothing butt what was for the safety and honor of the crown of Sweden, and might

1653. might as readily be accepted by them, as it it was respectfully offered by him.

Jan. 1.

Lagerfeldt often expressed his confidence of a good issue of the buisnes; and Whitelocke spake purposely what he believed would be agayne related to the chancellor, and to the end it might be so.

Whitelocke was informed, that Piementelle was a little sensible of some omission on Whitelocke's part in point of visits to him, who was as worthy, for his civilities to Whitelocke, for his favour with the queen and freenes toward Whitelocke, as any person in that court to be respected by him; and therefore Whitelocke went often to visit him, and at this time had much discourse with him, touching the chancellor, and of his great experience in state matters, also of his slowe proceedings: butt Piementelle sayd, that all must passe through the hands of the queen, and that, after the consultations and debates of her ministers of state, she did what she pleased; as in like manner (he said) she governed wholly in all her councells, and in the Diette or Ricksdagh itselfe.

Among other discourses, he fell upon that of Grave Magnus de la Garde his retirement from court, which was now the common discourse; wherof he promised a more particular relation att another meeting.

20. The queen being returned from her journey, Whitelocke sent one of his servants to Grave Tott, to desire a private audience, to waite upon the queen, and congratulate her safe returne; and this he did to give the queen opportunity of inquiring what had bin done in the treaty between him and her chancellor.

The

The queen returned anſwear, that ſhe was forry ſhe could not intertaine Whitelocke att. preſent, ſhe being ill, and very weary after her journey, ſo that ſhe was going to bed. 1653. Jan. 20.

Whitelocke theruppon went to Piementelle's lodgings, and the queen, underſtanding that he was there, ſent one of her ſecretaries thither to him, to excuſe her not giving him audience then, and to tell him, that, if he would come to-morrow to her, he ſhould be wellcome.

Whitelocke deſired the relation from Piementelle of the paſſages formerly diſcourſed on in generall, touching Grave Magnus, which, being a piece of romance, may, for diverſion's ſake, be heer inſerted.

“ Grave Magnus was ſon to Grave Pontus de la Gardè,  
 “ whoſe father, comming out of France to ſerve the crown of  
 “ Sweden, was ſo ſucceſſfull, that, for a reward of his merit,  
 “ he had good revenues, and the title of a grave or earle  
 “ beſtowed uppon him, and married there, and became a  
 “ ſubject and inhabitant of Sweden.

“ His ſon, Grave Pontus, was made felthere, or generall,  
 “ of the army, and was in great favour with the king  
 “ Guſtavus, and a ſenator.

“ His ſon, Grave Magnus, the gentleman of whom is  
 “ the preſent diſcourſe, was a proper, handſome, courtly  
 “ gentleman; and, beſides the honor of being a ſenator,  
 “ he grew into ſuch favour with the queen, that her ſer-  
 “ vants feared, leſt ſhe ſhould ſettle her affection ſo farre  
 “ uppon him as to make him her huſband: to prevent  
 “ which, it was ſo contrived, that Grave Magnus was mar-  
 “ ried to the ſiſter of prince Palatin, couſin german to the  
 Vol. I. Y y “ queen.”



1653. “ queen, a match of great honor and advantage to the  
 Jan. 20. “ gentleman, whose thoughts it seems did not aspire so  
 “ high as was suspected.

“ This favorite of the queen having a faction in court,  
 “ and free access to her majesty with much respect, parti-  
 “ cularly because of his alliance, the queen made him  
 “ grand master or high treasurer.

“ Having this honor and credit, he would permit none  
 “ to be received into her majesty’s service butt his own crea-  
 “ tures; and others he would represent to the queen as  
 “ unfit for her service, or unfaithfull.

“ One day Grave Magnus informed the queen, that he  
 “ was extreamly grieved att some reports, which, he was told,  
 “ had bin made to her majesty touching him: the queen  
 “ asked him, what reports? he said, of unfaithfullness and  
 “ treason, which never were in his thoughts against her  
 “ majesty; and it grieved him, that she should say any such  
 “ thing of him.

“ The queen demaunded who had reported this to him;  
 “ he desired to be excused from naming the party, butt said  
 “ he had bin told so; the queen replied, I must know who  
 “ hath thus informed you: he continued to excuse the  
 “ naming of parties, butt the queen would know them;  
 “ which he seeing, he named Grave Tott, and the baron  
 “ of Stainbergh.

“ The queen presently called in those in the antichamber,  
 “ divers senators and others, and said to them, Sirs, heer  
 “ is Grave Magnus who hath made me this report, and told  
 “ them what it was: the Grave desired her majesty not to  
 “ speake

“ speake of these things publicly; the queen said, she  
 “ must speak of them before those gentlemen, and recited <sup>1653.</sup>  
 “ all that Grave Magnus had said to her, and sent for Tott <sup>Jan. 20.</sup>  
 “ and Steinbergh; and, before they came, she said before  
 “ the company, that those were men of honor, and if they  
 “ say that I have spoken these words, then I have spoken  
 “ them.

“ As soon as they were come, the queen said to them,  
 “ Sirs, have you said that I spake thus? and repeated  
 “ Magnus his words: they denied that ever they said  
 “ so, and desired to know who had reported it of them;  
 “ the queen replied, heer is Grave Magnus, who informed  
 “ me so.

“ Tott and Steinbergh replied, that they had each of  
 “ them butt one life, which (by her majesty's permission)  
 “ they would imploy to maintaine, that they never spake  
 “ these words; and that if Grave Magnus would justify  
 “ it, they would deny it to his face. Magnus answered,  
 “ that he did not say that these gentlemen had spoken the  
 “ words, butt that he was told so; Tott and Steinbergh  
 “ desired to know who told him so? Grave Magnus de-  
 “ sired to be excused, and so tooke his leave.

“ After this, the queen sent Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne,  
 “ and marshall Wrangel, to Grave Magnus, to know who  
 “ had told him that Tott and Steinbergh spake the words;  
 “ and, after some excuses, finding the queen's resolution  
 “ to know it, he named a collonell that told him so, who,  
 “ being sent for, denied it, and said, that his life was  
 “ in the queen's hands, which he would expose to main-  
 “ taine that he never spake the words. Magnus affirmed he  
 “ did, and the collonell denied; wheruppon, in great

Y y 2

“ choller,

1653. " choller, Magnus desired leave of her majesty to retire  
 ~~~~~ " himselfe into the countrey: the queen wished him a good  
 Jan. 20. " voyage, and so he went from court.

" Afterwards some of his friends intreated her majesty,
 " that he might returne to court, butt she would not graunt
 " it: he also himselfe wrote to the queen for that purpose,
 " butt she would not give leave for his returne to court;
 " and writt herselfe to him a letter in french, which was
 " this * :
 See ap-
 pendix F.

The english of the letter is thus.

" Since you desire to see me agayne, after the disgrace
 " which is happened to you, I am obliged to tell you,
 " how contrary to your satisfaction this desire is; and I
 " write to you this letter to cause you to remember the
 " reasons which hinder my consent, and which ought also
 " to perswade you, that this interview is unprofitable to
 " your repose. It is not in me to bring remedies to your
 " misfortune; it is in yourselfe only to gaine reparation of
 " your honor. What can you hope for from me, or what
 " can I doe, except to moane and blame you? the friend-
 " ship, which I did beare you, obligeth me both to the one
 " and the other, and a certain indulgence which I have
 " had for you; I cannot, without belying myselfe, pardon
 " you the crime which you have committed against your-
 " selfe. Doe not believe that I am offended; I protest I
 " am not. I am from henceforth incapable to have any
 " other apprehension for you, then that of pittie, which,
 " neverthelesse, can nothing awayle you, since yourselfe
 " hath made uselesse the thoughts of bountey which I had
 " for you: you are unworthy of them by your own con-
 " fession, and yourselfe hath pronounced the decree of
 " your

“ your banishment in the presence of divers persons of 1653.
 “ quality. I have confirmed this decree, because I found
 “ it just ; and I am not so forward to contradict myselfe, Jan. 20.
 “ as some have made you to believe. After what you have
 “ done and suffered, dare you show yourselfe to me? you
 “ make me ashamed, when I consider to what loweness
 “ you are fallen. How many submissions have you made
 “ even to those to whom you would have done ill? In this
 “ unfortunate rencounter, one can see nothing of great-
 “ ness, of handsomness, or of generosity, in your conduct.
 “ If I were capable to repent, I should regret to have con-
 “ tracted friendship with a soule so feeble as yours ; butt
 “ this weakness is unworthy of me, and having alwayes
 “ acted according to reason, I cannot blame the appearances
 “ which I have given to the occurrences of time : I should
 “ have kept them all my life, if your imprudence had not
 “ constrained me to declare myselfe against you ; honor
 “ obligeth me, and justice ordains me, to doe it highly.
 “ I have done too much for you these nine years, when I
 “ have alwayes blindly taken your part against all ; butt,
 “ att present, since you abandon your most deare interests,
 “ I am dispensed with from having care of them. You
 “ yourselfe have published a secret (which I was resolved to
 “ have concealed all my life-time) in making knowne,
 “ that you are unworthy the fortune which you had with
 “ me. If you are resolved to beare these reproaches, you
 “ may come hither : I consent to it upon that condition ;
 “ butt doe not hope that either tears or submissions can
 “ ever oblige me to the least compliance. All that I am
 “ capable to doe for you is, to remember little, and to
 “ speake lesse heerof, except to blame you. This I ought
 “ to doe, to make it appeare, that one is unworthy of my
 “ esteem after such a fault as yours ; this only remains,
 “ that I can doe for you : and you are also to remember,
 “ that

1653. " that it is to yourfelfe only that you owe this difgrace
 ~~~~~  
 Jan. 20. " which is befallen you, and that I have the fame equity  
 " for you as I fhall ever have for all others."

" Feldt Marfhall Wrangell had performed feveral great  
 " exploits and gallant fervices for the queen, both by land  
 " and fea, and was highly in her favour, and her peoples  
 " efteem; yett fuch commaund had the queen over the  
 " greateft of her officers and fervants, that ſhe checked  
 " this ſenator publicquely, only becauſe he had made a  
 " viſit to Grave Magnus in the countrey, being under  
 " her difpleaſure.

" Att his returne from thence, comming into the pre-  
 " ſence of the queen, ſhe would not doe him the favour  
 " to give him her hand to kiſſe, as ſhe uſed to doe; butt,  
 " in the preſence of many, ſhe thus ſpake to him:

" I wonder that you ſhould diſapprove my proceed-  
 " ings concerning Grave Magnus; this is the reaſon why  
 " I gave you not my hand.

*Marſh.* " I never diſapproved the proceedings of your  
 " majeſty, butt ſhall be alwayes ready to juſtify them with  
 " the perill of my life.

*Qu.* " Wherefore then did you goe into the countrey to  
 " rejoyce with him, being in difgrace?

*Marſh.* " It is true that I have bin att the houſe of Grave  
 " Magnus in the countrey about ſome perticular buiſnes;  
 " butt if I had known, that it would have diſpleaſed your  
 " majeſty, I ſhould not have done it: I am extreame ſorry  
 " to have given offence to your majeſty, and moſt humbly  
 aſke

“ aske your pardon. Your majesty knowes that I have 1653.  
 “ bin, and alwayes shall be, ready to serve your majesty Jan. 20.  
 “ with my life ; there be others of your court who have  
 “ bin to see him as well as I.

*Qu.* “ I know that my cousen prince Adolphe hath  
 “ bin there also, butt he is his brother-in-lawe, and it is  
 “ more suitable for him to goe and eate of his comfitures ;  
 “ butt for you, who have testified so much affection to  
 “ my service, and done so many honourable actions, to  
 “ goe thither is a reproach to me : butt since you have  
 “ acknowledged your fault, and asked my pardon, I shall  
 “ give it you, and wish you not to doe so another time.  
 “ Uppon this the queen gave the marshall her hand to  
 “ kisse, and he made no replye.”

Whitelocke thanked Piementelle for his relation, which so much discovered the humor and temper of the court and courtiers ; and so they parted.

The queen sent one of her secretaries to Whitelocke, to desire him to come to her att three a'clock in the afternoon, which he did, and was presently admitted into her bed-chamber, where two stooles were sett ; the queen sate downe, and caused Whitelocke to sitt by her. 21.

Many complements past touching her journey and speedy returne and the like, and she was pleased to give Whitelocke a description of the countryes and places where she had bin in her journey, with the occasion of it, and how well she indured it : to which Whitelocke said, that if she could so well indure such travayle, and att such a season, she might well commaund an army ; which, she replied,  
 she

1653. she could doe uppon a good occasion ; and Whitelocke said,  
 Jan. 21. that was like the daughter of great Gustavus.

Then the queen asked Whitelocke, if he had mett with the chancellor in her absence? he said, they had a meeting, and much discourse uppon his articles ; butt he wished that he might have had the honor of treating with her majesty, and doubted not butt to have given her satisfaction, because he knew her honor and judgement would be satisfied with reason ; butt he made some question, whether her chancellor might not have some little prejudice in the buisnes : he hoped not, only wished, that her majesty's time, and other great occasions, would have afforded her the liberty, and him the honor, of her being the sole judge (as in truth she was, and att last must be) of all these matters.

The queen asked, what her chancellor's objections were? Whitelocke said, they were too long to trouble her majesty with them att this time: she pressed the more to know them, the more backward Whitelocke was to relate them ; who, nevertheless, willingly gave her a punctuall account of all the objections, with his answeares uppon every article. The queen seemed fully to approve what Whitelocke had sayd, and told him, that in case her chancellor and he could not agree, that it must come to her att last, whom he should find to be guided by honor and reason.

After this discourse, she drew her stoole close to Whitelocke, and this discourse passed :

*Qu.* I shall surprize you with something which I intend to communicate to you ; butt it must be under secrecy.

*Wh.* Madame, we, that have bin versed in the affayres of 1653. England, doe not use to be surprized with the discourse of a young lady : whatsoever your majesty shall thinke fitt to impart to me, and commaund to be under secrecy, shall be faithfully obeyed by me. Jan. 21.

*Qu.* I have great confidence of your honor and judgement, and therefore, though you are a stranger, I shall acquaint you with a buisnes of the greatest consequence to me in the world, and which I have not communicated to any creature ; nor would I have you to tell any one of it, no not your generall, till you come to see him ; and in this buisnes I desire your counsell.

*Wh.* Your majesty doth me in this the greatest honor imaginable, and your confidence in me, I shall not (through the help of God) deceive in the least measure, nor relate to any person (except my generall) what you shall impart to me ; and wherein your majesty shall judge my counsell worthy your receiving, I shall give it you with all sincerity, and according to the best of my poore capacity.

*Qu.* Sir, this it is : I have it in my thoughts and resolution to quitt the crowne of Sweden, and to retire myselfe unto a private life, as much more suitable to my contentment, then the great cares and troubles attending uppon the government of my kingdome : and what thinke you of this resolution ?

*Wh.* I am sorry to heare your majesty calle it a resolution ; and if any thing would surprise a man, to heare such a resolution from a lady of your parts, power, and judgement, would doe it ; butt I suppose your majesty is pleased only to drolle with your humble servant.



1653. *Qu.* I speake to you the trueth of my intentions; and  
 Jan. 21. had it not bin for your comming hither, which caused me  
 to deferre that resolution, probably it might have bin done  
 before this time.

*Wh.* I beseech your majesty deferre that resolution still, or rather wholly exclude it from your thoughts, as unfitt to receive any intertainment in your royall breast; and give me your pardon, if I speake my poore opinion with all duety and plainness to you, since you are pleased to require it: can any reason enter into a mind, so full of reason as yours is, to cause such a resolution from your majesty?

*Qu.* I take your plainness in very good part, and desire you to use freedom with me in this matter. The reasons which conduct me to such a resolution are; bicause I am a woman, and therefore the more unfitt to governe, and subject to the greater inconveniencies; that the heavy cares of government doe out-weigh the glories and pleasures of it, and are not to be imbraced in comparison of that contentment, which a private retirement brings with it.

*Wh.* As I am a stranger, I have an advantage to speake the more freely to your majesty, especially in this great buisnes; and as I am one who have bin acquainted with a retired life, I can judge of that; butt as to the cares of a crowne, none butt those that weare it can judge of them: only this I can say, that the higher your station is, the more opportunity you have of doing service to God, and good to the worlde.

*Qu.* I desire that more service to God, and more good to the world may be done, then I, being a woman, am capable to performe; and as soon as I can settle some affayres  
 for

for the good and advantage of my people, I think I may, 1653.  
without scāndall, quitt myselfe of my continuall cares, and Jan. 21.  
injoy the pleasure of a privacy and retirement.

*Wh.* Butt, madame, you that injoy the kingdome by right of descent, you that have the full affections and obedience of all sorts of your subjects, why should you be discouraged to continue the reines in your own hands? how can you forsake those, who testify so much love to you, and likeing of your governement?

*Qu.* It is my love to the people which causeth me to thinke of providing a better governor for them then a poor woman can be; and it is somewhat of love to myselfe, to please my own fancy, by my private retirement.

*Wh.* Madame, God hath called you to this eminent place and power of queen: doe not act contrary to this call, and disable yourselfe from doing him service, for which end we are all heer; and your majesty, as queen, hath farre greater opportunities, then you can have as a private person, to bring honor to him.

*Qu.* If another person, who may succeed me, have capacity, and better opportunity, by reason of his sexe and parts, to doe God and his countrey service then I can have; then my quitting the governement, and putting it into better hands, doth fully answear this objection.

*Wh.* I confesse my ignorance of better hands then your owne, in which the governement may be placed.

*Qu.* My cousen, the prince Palatin, is a person of excellent parts and abilities for governement, besides his valour  
Z z 2 and

1653, and knowledge in military affayres: him I have caused to  
 be declared my successor; it was I only that did it. Per-  
 Jan. 21. haps you may have heard of the passages between him and  
 me; butt I am resolved never to marry. It will be much  
 more for the advantage of the people, that the crown be  
 on his head then on mine; none fitter then he for it.

*Wh.* I doe believe his royall highnes to be a person of  
 exceeding great honor and abilities for governement: you  
 have caused him to be declared your successor; and it will  
 be no injury to him to stay his time, I am sure it may be  
 to your majesty, to be perswaded (perhaps designedly) to  
 give up your right to him whilest you live and ought to  
 injoy it.

*Qu.* It is no designe, butt my owne voluntary act, and  
 he being more active and fitt for the governement then I  
 am, the sooner he is putt into it the better.

*Wh.* The better for him indeed. With your majesty's  
 leave, I shall tell you a story of an old english gentleman,  
 who had an active young man to his son, that perswaded  
 the father to give up the management of the estate to the  
 son, who could make greater advantage by it then his fa-  
 ther did: he consented, writings were prepared, and  
 friends mett to see the agreement executed to quitt all to  
 the son, reserving only a pension to the father. Whilest this  
 was doing, the father (as is much used) was taking tobac-  
 co in the better roome, the parlour, where his rheum  
 caused him to spitt much, which offended the son; and  
 bicause there was much company, he desired his father to  
 take the tobacco in the kitchin, and to spitt there, which he  
 obeyed.

All

All things being ready, the son calles his father to come 1653.  
and seale the writings: the father sayd his mind was chang-  
ed; the son wondered att it, and, asking the reason, the Jan. 21.  
wise old man said, the reason was, bicause he was resolved  
to spitt in the parlour as long as he lived; and so I hope  
will a wise young lady.

*Qu.* Your story is very apt to our purpose, and the application proper, to keep the crown uppon my head as long as I live; butt to be quitt of it, rather then to keep it, I shall think to be to spitt in the parlour.

*Wh.* What your majesty likes best, is best to you; butt doe you not thinke that Charles V. had as great hopes of contentment by his abdication, as your majesty hath, and yett repented it the same day he did it.

*Qu.* That was by reason of his son's unworthiness; butt many other princes have happily, and with all contentment, retired themselves to a private condition; and I am confident, that my cousin, the prince, will see that I shall be duely paid what I reserve for my own maintenance.

*Wh.* Madame, lett me humbly advise you, if any such thing should be (as I hope it will not) to reserve that countrey in your possession out of which your reserved revenue shall be issued; for when money is to be paid out of a prince's treasury, it is not alwayes ready and certaine.

*Qu.* The prince Palatin is full of justice and honor; butt I like your counsell well, and shall follow it, and advise further with you in it.

*Wh.*

1653. *Wh.* Madame, I shall be alwayes ready to serve you in  
 Jan. 21. any of your commaunds, butt more unwillingly in this  
 then any other. Suppose, madame, (as the worst must be  
 cast), that by some exigencyes, or troubles, your lessened  
 revenue should not be answeared, and payd, to supply  
 your own occasions; you that have bin mistris of the whole  
 revenue of this crowne, and of so noble and bountifull a  
 heart as you have, how can you beare the abridging of it,  
 or it may be, the necessary supplyes for yourselfe and ser-  
 vants to be wanting to your quality.

*Qu.* In case of such exigencyes, notwithstanding my  
 quality, I can content myselfe with very little; and for ser-  
 vants, with a lacquay and a chambermaid.

*Wh.* This is good phylosophy, butt hard to praetise:  
 give me leave, madame, to make another objection; you  
 now are queen, and soveraigne lady, of all the nations sub-  
 ject to your crown and person, whose word the stoutest  
 and greatest among them doe obey, and strive to cringe to,  
 you; butt when you shall have divested yourselfe of all  
 power, the same persons, who now fawne uppon you, will  
 be then apt to putt affronts and scornes uppon you; and  
 how can your generous and royall spirit brooke them; and  
 to be despised by those whom you have raysed and so much  
 obliged.

*Qu.* I looke uppon such things as these as the course of  
 this world, and shall expect such scornes, and be prepared  
 to contemne them.

*Wh.* These answeares are strong arguments of your ex-  
 cellent temper, and fittnes to continue in your power and  
 government; and such resolutions will advance your ma-  
 jesty

jesty above any earthly crowne. Such a spirit as this <sup>1653.</sup> shows how much you are above other women, and most <sup>Jan. 21</sup> men in the world, and, as such a woman, you have the more advantage for government; and without disparagement to the prince, not inferior to him, or any other man, to have the trust of it.

*Qu.* What opinion have they in England of the prince Palatin?

*Wh.* They have a very honorable opinion of him, butt have not heard so much of him as of your majesty, of whom is great discourse, full of respect and honor to your person, and to your government.

*Qu.* I hope I shall testify my respects to your commonwealth in the buisnes of the treaty between us, and that it shall be brought to a good issue, and give satisfaction to us both.

*Wh.* That doth wholly rest in your majesty's power, to whom I hope to have the favour to offer my reasons in any points, wherein there is a difference of opinion between your chancellor and me; and I shall much depend upon your majesty's judgement, and good inclinations to my superiors.

*Qu.* I shall not be wanting in my expressions therof, and doe hope, that the protector will afford me his assistance for the gaining of a good occasion and place for my intended retirement.

*Wh.* You will find his highnes full of civility and respects and readines to serve your majesty.

1653. *Qu.* I shall never desire any thing butt what may stand  
 Jan. 21. with the good of both nations ; and what doe you judge  
 the best means to procure free navigation thorough the  
 Sundt ?

*Wh.* I know no other means butt force, the king of Den-  
 marke denying it.

*Qu.* That is the way indeed ; butt what shall then be  
 done with the castles uppon the Sundt, and the king of  
 Denmarke's land there ?

*Wh.* If it shall please God to give a blessing to the de-  
 signe, the castles must either be razed, or they and the  
 island putt into good hands, such as both may trust.

*Qu.* That is to the purpose ; butt doe you thinke that  
 England will assist to that end ?

*Wh.* I thinke they will, uppon such reasonable condi-  
 tions as shall be accorded ; butt, in such actions, speedy  
 and vigorous prosecution is necessary : the spring should  
 not be lost, against which time preparations are to be  
 made, and your majesty must be pleased to give me your  
 proposalls for that buisnes ; nor is the present treaty  
 uppon my articles to be delayed, they being the foundation  
 of the whole designe.

*Qu.* You may assure yourselfe, that the alliance between  
 the two nations is as good as concluded, and will be done ;  
 and I will give you my proposalls concerning the Sundt :  
 and if Zeland could be taken from the Dane, and the pro-  
 tector agree to my living there, it should be the place of  
 my

my retirement; I would quitt the crown of Sweden and  
reside there.

1653.  
Jan. 21.

*Wh.* Your majesty would have the worst part of the bargain; I hope you would then bestow uppon your servant the command of one of the castles there.

*Qu.* With all my heart; butt I believe you doe butt drolle: I will promise you more, that, if this buisnes be brought to effect, I shall be willing, if England will consent to it, that you shall have the commaund of all the island, and of all such swedish and english forces as shall be placed there; and I should not be willing to putt that trust into the hand of any other stranger whatsoever, so much confidence I have of your worth and honor.

*Wh.* Your majesty is pleased to putt an exceeding great obligation uppon me, and I hope (by the assistance of God) I should approve my faithfullnes in any trust reposed in me: I believe my lord protector would as soon putt this great trust in me as in any other of his servants, and I shall acquaint his highnes with what your majesty mentions.

*Qu.* I pray doe so; and I shall give you my propofalls.

*Wh.* This discourse putts me in mind of a passage of my generall before I came out of England; he told me, he had a mind to quitt his charge, and presently followed an addition of honor to him: the like may be to your majesty, though not in title, yet in good successes.

*Qu.* All the addition I desire, is to be lesse then I am by a private retirement.



1653.

Jan. 22.

After three howers' discourse Whitelocke took his leave.

*The Lord's day.* After evening sermon, Mr. Stapleton, by Whitelocke's appointment, gave an admonition to his family, with much sobernes and authority of scripture, exhorting them to containe themselves within the bounds of temperance ; after he had done, the whole family being together, Whitelocke spake to them to this effect :

“ The good exhortation which you have received was by my direction, and hath bin given you with care and affection towards you and me, and chiefly towards God, whose trueths he hath declared to you.

“ I purposed to have rested heerwith, to which little can be added, butt somwhat which he said hath minded me of my duety, and that it is not sufficient for me to exhort or admonish you by deputy ; butt, as I am the father of this family, and must answer for your miscarriages, if I endeavour not to prevent and restraine them, butt by connivence or silence shall make them mine ; so I hold it requisite to lett you know my sense of your demeanors from my own mouth.

“ Some of you have so carryed yourselves with such discretion, civility, soberness, and piety, that therby you bring honor to yourselves, to me, to your countrey, and to our God and father ; to these I shall say as Jacob said to his son Judah, *thou art he whom thy brethren shall prayse*, and, as the apostle exhorts, *doe that which is good, and thou shalt have prayse* : it is due to good men, and it rejoyceth my soul, that I can say to many of you as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, *now I prayse you brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances as I delivered them*

*them to you.* You have observed the orders of my family 1653.  
 which I delivered to you ; heerin you have given me con-  
 tentment : you have given good example to your fellowes, <sup>Jan. 22.</sup>  
 and to the people of this countrey ; you have pleased God,  
 and prayse is due to you from me your governor, sent  
 for the prayse of them that doe well, as you have done.

“ On the other side, I am sent for the punishment of  
 evill doers, and am sorry to heare of too many such among  
 you. I have admonished you before, and it had bin better  
 both for you and me, if there were not cause to admonish  
 you agayne.

“ Some of you, I heare, esteem yourselves too much  
 kept under, and abridged of your freedome, bicause I will  
 not permit your riotous courses ; and you say you will not  
 be slaves to man : to me I am sure you know you are not,  
 and I shall endeavor, that ye be not slaves to satan. The best  
 among you, whilest you are of my retinue, ought to observe  
 my orders, which make none slaves, butt all are as free as  
 myselfe, who observe them as well as you, and will have  
 them observed by all under my charge and care. I will  
 not give you freedome to serve your lusts and sin ; is my  
 service therefore slavish ?

“ The servile condition, and that of true freedome, are  
 cleerly described by St. John, *ye shall know the trueth, and  
 the trueth shall make you free* ; if you apply yourselves to  
 the study of the trueths of God, that will make you free :  
 you have the trueth of God to testify it, and, blessed be  
 God, none of us are debarred from this freedome. The  
 Jewes said, *we be Abraham's seed, and were never in bon-  
 dage to any man ; how sayest thou ye shall be made free ?* our

A a a 2

Saviour

1653. Saviour anfwears, *whoſoever committeth ſin, is the ſervant of ſin.* *If the ſon ſhall make ye free, ye ſhall be free indeed.*  
 Jan. 22.

“ If ye commit ſin, if ye haunt drinking houſes, and riotous courſes, ye are then in bondage, and ſlaves to ſatan, from which it is my duty to reſtraine you ; other freedom you doe not, you ſhall not want.

“ Have I not bin a father to you all, ſick and well ? have you wanted any thing in my care and power to ſupply you ? have not I undergone the ſame hardſhips and daungers with you ? yett ſome repay my kindnes with diſhonoring me in the ſight of ſtrangers.

“ Hath your countrey, your religion, merited to be ſcandalized by you among foreiners ? will you prophane the name of God, who hath ſo wonderfully preſerved us, and deſtroy your pretious ſouls by your evill wayes ? for ſhame depart from them, I admoniſh you to forſake them, and expect conformity to my orders, and a pious and civill converſation in my family ; wherby you will doe yourſelves and me good, and God will take pleaſure ſtill to doe us all good.

“ If you will not be perſwaded to leave your ſinfull courſes, you muſt leave me ; if I can (through the goodnes of God) I will not have a wicked perſon dwell in my houſe, butt I and my family will ſerve the Lord.”

23. Pimentelle and Lagerfeldt doing Whitelocke the honor to dine with him, they had much diſcourſe about the treaty, wherin Pimentelle was reſerved. in the other's preſence. Lagerfeldt made an excuſe from the chancellor for his not meeting uppon the treaty, bicauſe he was not well, and

and therefore could not bend his mind to those affayres; butt 1653.  
 hoped within two or three dayes he should recover his health, and then he would neglect no opportunity of con-  
 Jan. 23.  
 ferring with Whitelocke further uppon those matters.

*Wh.* I am sorry for the indisposition of my lord chancellor, for his sake, and my own, in respect of the treaty, wherein I much desire expedition, and the rather, bicause I know not how soon the protector may commaund my returne home.

*Lag.* I doubt not butt the treaty will, in a short time, come to a happy issue, and I know the chancellor will speedily and heartily intend it; and it is not possible for your excellence to returne to England till the spring, about May, bicause till then these seas will be frozen, and the shoare so full of ice, that, without imminent daunger, one cannot goe by sea..

*Wh.* I cannot goe by land, bicause I must passe through the territories of the Dane and Hollander, our ennemies; and I cannot write to my friends in England and have an answer from them in lesse then two months time: yett if the chancellor please to give a dispatch to my buisnes, I will adventure some way or other to gett home; butt after our present rate I may stay till next winter.

*Lag.* I doubt not butt within a very few dayes the chancellor will meet agayne, and give a speedy dispatch to your treaty, which I shall further all that lyes in my power.

*Wh.* You will therby much oblige me.

White-

1653. Whitelocke being much indisposed, and ill with a feaverish distemper, kept his chamber; wherof the queen having notice, sent her favourite Grave Tott to visit him, who returned his humble acknowledgement of this great favor from her majesty.

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Woolfeldt sent to visit him; and most of the grandees in town used the like ceremony to him.

The french resident came in the afternoon to visit him, and reported a great victory which his master had obtained against the Spanyard in Catalonia; and whilst he was relating it, came in the king of Spayne's resident: and it was pleasant to heare the complements between these two publique ministers, and touching the reciprocall affection which their masters did beare the one towards the other, and the great friendship between them; wheras, singly, neither would speake a good word of the other's master or servants. Whitelocke was much putt to it to place them so, in his chamber, that neither might take offence, which he did uppon his bed, and himselfe sitting in a chayre by them; and the french resident stayd not long.

After he was gone, Piementelle was free in his discourse about Whitelocke's treaty, and other matters, and particularly of Duynkerk; and Whitelocke acquainted him with the honorable proceedings of the english when that town was offered to be delivered to them, which they refused to accept by treachery: and Whitelocke and one gentleman more only were employed by Cromwell in that buisnes, and all of it passed through their hands. Att which relation Piementelle seemed much pleased, and highly commended the honor and justice of the english in the carryage of that matter.

They

They then fell into discourse of the chancellor, and his slow proceedings in buisnes, which Piementelle much blamed: Whitelocke desired him to take occasion to give some hint to the queen of Whitelocke's apprehension of the delay, and to perswade her majesty to a satisfaction of Whitelocke's reasonable demaunds in the treaty; which Piementelle promised to doe to the advantage of Whitelocke's buisnes; and Whitelocke believed he did the same affectionately.

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Jan. 24.

Whitelocke drolled with him touching his complementing of the french resident, and, he sayd, that men in his condition must give to others, att least, as good as they bring. He took leave, and afterwards sent to Whitelocke a present of citrones, grenades, and curious spanish comfitures.

Woolfeldt, in the afternoon, also visited Whitelocke, and discoursed of the chancellor's slownes in buisnes; and that he had a little envy towards the protector, bicause he had done greater things then the chancellor had done, and had advanced himselfe to that estate which the chancellor had proposed to himselfe to have done when the queen was young, butt could not arrive att it as Cromwell had done.

Whitelocke answered, that in England they esteemed the chancellor to be a friend to their common-wealth and parlement: Woolfeldt replied, that was true; butt yett he was no friend to Cromwell, the protector.

Whitelocke did somewhat marvaile that this gentleman should tell him the same thing concerning the chancellor, as the queen had told him before; and, recollecting himselfe, he had found the chancellor, uppon the buisnes of his treaty, not so well satisfied as the queen herselfe was, nor

1653. ~~to~~ forward in it, since the newes of Cromwell's being made  
 protector, as he was before ; that all the objections came still  
 Jan. 24. from him, and were not easy to be removed.

Whither this were occasioned through the slowness, or rather deliberativeness, of the old chancellor, or out of any personall envey of him to Cromwell, Whitelocke did not take upon him to make a judgement ; butt was more apt to believe it to be cautiousness and wisdom, then dullness or envy : howsoever, Whitelocke determined to putt as much as he could to the queen, and upon her promise and affection ; and to use all the means of courtship and civilities both to the queen, and to her chancellor, and others, to obtaine his honest ends.

25. The queen sent agayne one of the gentlemen of her bed-chamber to visit Whitelocke, and inquire of his health ; who, after some physick, was a little better, and returned his humble thanks for her majesty's great favour.

The chancellor sent his secretary to see how Whitelocke did, and he said, that his lordship intended to have come to Whitelocke this day, butt in regard of the extreame intemperateness of the aier, and the great snow, he was not able to come abroad ; butt desired the meeting might be deferred to another day, and the rather bicause he heard of Whitelocke's indisposition of health.

Whitelocke answered, that he thanked God he was not so ill att present as that his buisnes therby should receive delay ; butt whensoever the chancellor pleased, he hoped that he should be able to give him a meeting.

In the evening, Whitelocke being reasonably well recovered, the musick of the church heer, about twenty persons, came to Whitelocke's house, and brought with them their instruments of musick, saquebuts, cornets, and violins, and did sing and play in his presence reasonably well, although not exactly; and, for their paines, Whitelocke bestowed on them forty ricksdollers, wherof they were nothing shy in the acceptance. 1653.  
Jan. 25.

Whitelocke was informed that these musicians were sent to him from the archbishop of Upsale, who was newly come to towne, and of whom Whitelocke had received an extraordinary good character for his learning and piety.

Theruppon Whitelocke sent his son James, in his name, to visit the archbishop, and to congratulate his safe arrivall in this place; the archbishop tooke this complement with much kindness, treated Whitelocke's son with all civility, and told him, that in a short time he purposed to give a visite to the english ambassador.

Senator Bundt visited Whitelocke: he had an alliance by marriage with the family of the lord Gorge in England, which occasioned his having bin in England, wherof he discoursed much, and chiefly commended Wiltshire, and prayed the whole country for its fertility, healthfullness, plenty, and profit, even to the preferring of it (and that not without cause) to the countrey about Upsale. He also informed Whitelocke of the town and university of Upsale. Whitelocke asked him if he had seen the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: he said yes, and that they were greater then Upsale, which was agreed by Whitelocke, who said, that divers colledges in them were greater then whole universities in other countreyes; but he spared to name Upsale.



1653. He fell into a large encomium of the ports, havens, and  
 Jan. 26. trade of England, and touching their dominion at sea: he  
 doubted the point of the sovereignty claymed by England in  
 the narrow seas, approving the opinion of Grotius his Mare  
 Liberum, which he said he had read, and gained much satisfac-  
 tion by it in this point.

Whitelocke desired him to reade likewise Selden's Mare  
 Clausum, which he offered him; and sayd, he doubted not  
 butt that therby his excellence would receive more satisfac-  
 tion in the point of the right of England in the dominion  
 of the British seas; for which Whitelocke shortly remember-  
 ed to him some materiall arguments, which he formerly  
 gaithered in his studyes on this subject: and concluded,  
 that if the queen his mistres should become mistres of the  
 Sundt, that then his excellence would be of another opinion,  
 and hold the learning of Mare Clausum to be orthodoxe in  
 the Baltick sea.

The weather being fayre and no wind stirring, Whitelocke  
 rode about halfe a league out of town to take the aire, and  
 found himselfe the better for it: att his returne home, he  
 found wellcome letters from England; and, in those from  
 Thurloe, a full account touching the dutch treaty, and of  
 the letters of the dutch resident heer to his superiors, wher-  
 in he little feares that Whitelocke's treaty will come to any  
 thing; and faith, that the queen will agree to nothing in  
 prejudice of the Hollander.

By other letters he had a relation of the gallant fight which  
 his frigott the Phoenix made with three Dutch men of war  
 in her returne home, whom she tore, and killed many of  
 their men, and came off herselfe butt with the losse of  
 eighteen

eighteen men, with many wounded, and the ship and tackle much spoyled.

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This he caused to be published, and so, that it might come to the dutch resident, and to cause the greater esteem of the force of the english ships, and the contrary of the dutch: the Phoenix was much cryed up in the court, and the like believed of the rest of the english navy, which was some furtherence to Whitlocke's buisnes.

The intelligence of the treaty with the Dutch he likewise caused to be published, that therby the cleernes and honor of the english proceedings might be known, and the contrary of their ennemies: the chancellor highly approved what the English had done therin, and sayd, that the Dutch had done according to their custome, to pretend plenipotency, till the buisnes was brought to an issue, and then to deferre the conclusion to their superiors, which he said was their jealousy of one another, and of all persons whom they had to deale with.

He also published part of that intelligence concerning the french, as farre as it might advantage his own buisnes, their indeavors to hinder the dutch buisnes, and applications to the protector.

The newes of Spayne, as to correspondence with the protector, he also made knowne.

That of Scotland he sett forth to the full, the inconsiderableness of the enemy, and the power and successe of England there; and this notwithstanding the late change.

The queen was pleased with these relations, which did much raise in her esteem the protector and common-wealth of England, and further the treaty heer.

1653. The french resident continued his visits to Whitelocke, and magnified the affections of the king his master to England, particularly in the dutch treaty, to whom Whitelocke would now and then give a hint, that he might perceive Whitelocke understood the secret passages therein.

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Whitelocke's intelligence being so full and certaine, it came to passe, that in this court, by all except the ennemies of England, it was received for authentique, and that of the adverse party little regarded or believed.

Att this time was sitting in Upsale a publique councill, called by them the *outscot*, which signifies with them select persons out of the rest of valuable men : *scot* signifies with them as with us, a publique payment, as we say, one that pays scot and lot ; and *out* signifies with them as with us, from, or out of so outscot is a councill selected, and called, by the queen, out of such as pay scot, substantiall men.

The occasion of summoning this councill is usually when the queen would rayse any soldiery, make a war, or levy money, or the like : then they summon the outscot, which consists of the senators, some of the nobility and clergy, and one or two from each territory or hundred, and some burgers ; and these not elected by the people, butt summoned by the queen, and whom she thinks fit, and to advise her in such matters as she proposeth to them. Butt they can only give their counsell, and not levy men or money, or make any law by their own authority, those powers being only in the supreame councill, their Ricksdagh, like our parlement : and this outscot hath some resemblance to the auntient great councill of our king, only that had no commoners, as this hath, and is more like to the councill sitting when Whitelocke came out of England, consisting of persons

persons selected and summoned by Cromwell; butt they 1653,  
assumed parliamentary power.

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Seldome this, or any other publique councill, differs or  
dissents from what the queen proposeth; so great is her in-  
fluence on them.

The chancellor came to Whitelocke's house, where they 27-  
were three howers together in conference, part wherof  
follows.

*Chan.* I ask your pardon that I have stayed so long before  
I came to you againe to conferre uppon the treaty.

*Wh.* I am glad of the honor of your company, and of  
the progresse of my buisnes therby; and you will excuse me,  
if I thought the time long before we mett agayne about the  
treaty.

*Chan.* I confesse ingeniously to you, that I desired to see  
this week's letters from England before our meeting.

*Wh.* I thank you for that clearnes, and these letters prove  
no disadvantage to our english affayres: by them appears  
what good satisfaction is received in the late change there,  
and that the honor and happines of the protector and com-  
mon-wealth seem every day more and more confirmed.

*Chan.* I am glad your affayres are in so good a posture and  
condition.

*Wh.* I shall reade the perticulars out of my letters, wher-  
by you will have a cleer prospect of our affayres, of our  
great

1653. great successes against our enemies, and the honorable  
 Jan. 27. dealing of our common-wealth with their envious neighbours, and their contrary actions.

*Chan.* The same particulars I have in my letters, both from England and Holland.

*Wh.* I am glad my intelligence is so good.

*Chas.* I have not mett with any publique minister, who hath kept his credit so high as you have done in the truth of your intelligence, and that hath bin so well furnished with it, relating to other states, and to your own.

*Wh.* My opinion and practice hath ever bin, and I hope, by the grace of God, ever shall be, to affirme nothing butt truth; and it concernes me to know the passages in other countryes, that I may the better serve my own.

*Chan.* It is duety and prudence so to doe: and I am glad to see the stability, and with the happiness of your common-wealth, and of the protector, whom I much honor for his wisdom and greate parts and actions.

*Wh.* Your respects are not placed upon one who will not appear to deserve them, and to be worthy of the friendship of your excellence, and of the queen and kingdome.

*Chan.* I shall be ready to further that amity.

*Wh.* I suppose your excellence is satisfied upon the former debate touching my second article, that the mutuall assistance of England and Sweden against their respective enemies, will be of equall advantage and good to both.

*Chan.*

*Chan.* The objection to that is, that we therby may be involved in a war on your behalfe, we being now in peace with our neighbours. 1653.  
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*Wh.* It is not certaine how soon you may be in war with some of your neighbours, and then we must be involved therin on your behalfe; and our english warres (through the blessing of God) are not likely to be of any long continuance.

*Chan.* I am glad of your good successes, and though your war with the Dutch should continue, yett methinks, that the ships of your friends should not be so disturbed in their trading as they are, by your capers and men of war.

*Wh.* Our men of war disturbe no trading, except men carry contraband goods to our ennemies.

*Chan.* Why may not our marchants, being your friends, and friends to your ennemies, carry any goods to either of you, without being, as we are, taken and indamaged.

*Wh.* Our ennemies (though perhaps seeming friends to you) yett will not suffer your ships, nor any other, to bring us any goods, imperiously forbidden by them; and it is butt equall, if not necessary, that we doe the like.

*Chan.* I thinke it is too much for either of you to make such prohibitions to those who are not under your dominion, and therby to hinder trade and navigation.

*Wh.* You have done the same in the war between you and Denmarke; and with us the Dutch made the first prohibition.

*Chan.*

1653. *Chan.* The fourth article is too hard for us to consent unto;  
 Jan. 27. and we should be very severe to those who are now living  
 amongst us, and have given no offence to us, if we should  
 banish them out of our territories, as that article requires.

*Wh.* This objection being made formerly by you, I have  
 considered it, and find the latter part of the article to be  
 only, that you shall not admit or receive into your terri-  
 tories any of the rebels or traytors to England.

*Chan.* That is not just for us to consent unto.

*Wh.* For your satisfaction, I have penned an additionall  
 clause to this article, in these words;

“ Proviso quod articulus hic non extendat, &c.”

“ Provided that this article doe not extend to any persons  
 “ now living under the government of the queen of Sweden,  
 “ so that such persons have not bin excepted from pardon by  
 “ the parlement of the common-wealth of England; and so  
 “ that for the future, they neither act nor attempt any thing  
 “ against the common-wealth of England.”

*Chan.* This additionall clause will take off much from the  
 difficulty of passing that article; and it is offered with great  
 reason and judgment: I shall acquaint the queen heerewith,  
 and doubt not butt you will have a satisfactory returne con-  
 cerning this perticular.

*Wh.* Have you bin pleased to consider further of my fifth  
 article, which is for mutuall assistance of both states, by sea  
 and land, for removing impediments of trade in the Baltick  
 sea,

Sea, and the exactions and oppressions in the Sundt, and 1653.  
for the liberty of navigation.

Jan. 27.

*Chan.* I have considered it, and that the crown of Sweden is att present att peace with Denmarke, and all the queen's subjects have free navigation through the Sundt; and it is true, that the English have not free passage there, and for that reason the article is not equall. What leagues or treatyes are between England and Denmarke I know not, butt desire to be informed by you; and much wonder att what you have told me, and what I myselfe knew of the king of Denmarke's dealing in such a manner as he hath done with England: I thinke it a great error in him and his counsellis. Butt in case this fifth article should be agreed uppon, it would ingage Sweden in a war with Denmarke, when they have no cause in relation to themselves, butt to England.

*Wh.* I doe not apprehend Sweden to be wholly out of daunger of new warres with Denmarke and others, being a continent incompassed with ambitious neighbors, envying your greatnes: and the king of Denmarke, if he find an advantage, will soon deale with you, as he hath done with England, contrary to expresse leagues and treatyes between us, the copy wherof, and of all leagues that I think have passed between the two nations, I have heere; and you shall see them when you please. As to the Sundt, I looke uppon this article of much more advantage to Sweden than to England, when I consider their right in the Baltique sea, the many ports the queen hath uppon it, for the vent of the commodities of her country on both sides that sea: and though her subjects have now free navigation through the Sundt, yet, if other nations have it not, wherby they cannot frequent her majesty's ports, and her commodities be



1653. <sup>Jan. 27.</sup> vented to them, it will be no small prejudice to you. The more and more free access may be had into those seas, the better for your trade, and the same being at present interrupted, and may be, when the king of Denmarke pleaseth, more interrupted, will be a great damage and injury to you; and whither you judge it for your interest, that the oppressions and interruptions there, which generally light upon the queen and her subjects, as well as others, be continued and increased, must be left to you as your own business: butt if you shall hold it fitt to remove and prevent them, you are offered the friendship and assistance of England for that purpose, and (blessed be God) you see they are not weak att sea; and besides perticular interests, it is honorable and just as to the common interest and liberty of trade and navigation. Nor doth this article bind you up to any precise or punctuall way or war heerin, butt is a generall league between the two nations; and perticulars are left to a future consideration and agreement.

*Chan.* I confesse the interest of Sweden is much concerned in the free navigation through the Sundt, and we ought to indeavor it, which possibly may be obtained by other means then by force.

*Wh.* The means are not determined by these articles, butt left to future accord; butt the conjunction of both nations will sooner effect a free navigation by any means which shall be thought fitt, then if they be not confederate.

*Chan.* I acknowledge that I have received much satisfaction from you in the points we have debated att this conference; and I hope there will be noe great difficulty in the business: I shall acquaint the queen with what hath past between us, and very shortly we will meet againe about it.

.. *Wh.*

*Wh.* I desire it may be as soon as conveniency will permit, 1653.  
 because I know not how soon my lord protector may com-  
 maund me other service. Jan. 27.

*Chan.* There will be no delay in the transaction of this  
 buisnes; and, I hope, no dissatisfaction.

The discourse of Poland, Muscovia, Germany, and other  
 passages, are omitted; and the substance of what related to  
 this buisnes shortly inserted.

Grave Tott came to visit Whitelocke from the queen, and 28.  
 to inquire of his health; and told him, that the queen was  
 going a hunting two or three leagues from Upsale, and  
 would returne within a day or two.

Whitelocke desired his thanks might be returned to her  
 majesty; and said, that if he had known of her designe,  
 and that his service might have bin acceptable, he should  
 have waited on her majesty to the chace, being a lover of  
 hunting.

The Grave replied, that Whitelocke's company would  
 have bin very acceptable to her majesty, and she would have  
 invited him to the sport, but that she believed his health  
 would not permit it.

The archbishop of Upsale came to Whitelocke's house to  
 visit him: his equipage was not sumptuous, his coach  
 butt meane, his two horses suitable; a kinsman, a grave  
 doctor in his company, two servants like to gentlemen, and  
 one lacquay in a plaine livery.

1653. The reason of his smalle traine and state was given, bī-  
 Jan. 28. cause his revenue was butt 1500 or 2000 ricks dollers,  
 which is about 500 l. of our money yearly; and the other  
 bishopricks of lower value, their means having bin lessened  
 and their powers abridged (as is related) uppon this oc-  
 casion.

An archbishop, predecessor to this, being in his flourishing estate, rich in revenue and high in power (as all the bishops then were); invited the king and senators, and magnificently feasted them in his pallace; butt in his treatment, by his haughty carriage, gave so great distast to the king and senators, that thereuppon they took occasion at the next ricksdagh so to order the matter, that, by publique ordinance, the bishops and clergy were debarred from intermedling in civill affayres, and their revenues were also lessened; which brought them to a lower condition then formerly they were in, and this archbishop to his present posture.

He was a comely grave old man, neer eighty years of age, yett of a fresh and ruddy countenance; his beard long and white, his stature middle sized, his carriage humble and gentle: his head was covered with a black velvet cap, furred and turned up, after the manner of his countrey, with another cap under it, a cassack of black silke stufte like to our bishops habit, with a long cloake over it.

He spake latin fluently, butt not pedantickly, and expressed himselfe with good reason, mixt with chearfullnes and learning, especially out of the fathers and humane authorities; and he was more ready then others of his coate in texts of holy scripture.

His companion, the doctor, was habited like his Metropolitan; a grave and sober man, with a long black beard, and  
 a civill

a civill behaviour : he spake good latin, and was well learn- 1653.  
ed; and it may be supposed they would not choose the un-  
fittest men to discourse with a foreign ambassador. He spake Jan. 28.  
not much in the presence of the archbishop : some of their  
discourse follows.

*Arch.* We in these parts of the world had great astonish-  
ment att the actions and alterations in your countrey, espe-  
cially concerning the change of your gouvernement ; wherein  
I should be glad to receive some information from your ex-  
cellence, if you please to allow me the freedome of discourse  
in so tender a point as this is.

*Wh.* Your grace is master of your own freedom and dis-  
course, wherein I know nothing will be lett fall, reflecting  
uppon the honor of the common-wealth whom I serve ; and  
I shall be very ready to give you what satisfaction lyes in my  
capacity in those things, which you shall hold fitt to de-  
maund of me.

*Arch.* I shall be farre from any thing which in the least  
measure may reflect uppon the honor of your common-  
wealth, to which I beare a due respect ; acknowledging that  
you have done great and wonderfull things in your late  
transactions, wherein God hath appeared much on your side.

*Wh.* It hath pleased the Lord to owne the parlement, and  
our common-wealth in a strange series of his providences,  
judging on our side in all our appeales to him in the day of  
battle ; and in all our exigencies he hath bin found by us,  
and bin our refuge and deliverer in the time of trouble :  
the perticulars wherof, I presume, have bin made known  
to you, and to most parts of the world.

*Arch.*

1653. *Arch.* You speake more like a bishop yourselſe then like a  
 Jan. 28. foldier: it is the part of every good chriſtian to acknowledge with thankfulneſſe God's goodnes, which hath bin eminent to your common-wealth, whereof we have heard ſo much, and confeſt by your enemies, that it is yett hard to be believed.

*Wh.* Thoſe, who have had the honor to aſt in our affayres, have ſeen ſo much of God in them, that we have more cauſe then of others to ſpeak good of his name; and ſurely, this kind of ſpeaking, biſhops, foldiers, and ambaffadors, and all ſorts of good chriſtians, and the wonders whereof we have bin eye-witneſſes, I aſſure your grace have not bin leſſe then report hath made them.

*Arch.* They have bin indeed wonderfull and ſucceſſfull; butt with your leave, my lord ambaffador, we in theſe parts doe not underſtand what neceſſity you were putt unto to take away your ſettled and antient governement by kings, wholly to abolish it, and to reſolve into a republique.

*Wh.* It was judged a prudence and neceſſity uppon the parlement party, for the ſafety and ſecuring themſelves and their cauſe, after their ſword had bin drawn againſt the king, not only to throwe away the ſcabbert, butt to abolish kingly governement, and to admit no more kings, which they thought could never be reconciled to them; and to reſolve into a republique, that they might injoy their juſt rights and liberties, which had bin invaded and wreſted from them by their kings.

*Arch.* Butt how could their conſciences be ſatiſfied, for the preſervation of their owne rights, to take away the  
 right

right of kings, and for their own safety to destroy their king. 1653.

Jan. 22.

*Wh.* Selfe preservation goes farre with mortall men ; and they held the rights of a people more to be regarded, then any thing relating to a perticular person ; and that it is not the right of a king to governe a people, butt the consent of of a people that such a king shall governe them ; which, if he doe not according to justice and their law, they hold, that the people for whom, and for whose good, and for preservation of whose rights, he is intrusted as the supream officer, may, if they please, remove him from that office : and uppon this ground the people's deputies in our supream counsell, the parlement, thought fitt to take away the government by kings, and to make it a republique..

*Dr.* It is no false doctrine, that kings are for the good of the people, and that the people were not made for kings, butt kings for the people's sake ; yett the people have not more flourished under any administration than that of kings..

*Arch.* Besides, for the approbation of the government by kings, we find many præcepts and promises in holy scripture..

*Wh.* Those præcepts and promises are by some applyed to all governors, and in generall to all formes as well as that of kings ; and there be also dislikes and disapprobations of government by kings, as that in Samuel, when a king was desired, they are said to *reject God*..

*Arch.* That is to be taken in respect of the manner and time of the demaund, not of the demaund itselfe..

1653. *Dr.* We find the duty of a king sett downe in Deuteronomy, and many examples of good and holy kings of Israel and of Judah.

Jan. 28.

*Wh.* I doubt that of them, and of all other rulers, there may be found as many who did evill in the sight of the Lord; and we find a generall approbation of the judges of Israel.

*Arch.* The judges had kingly power; and certainly the government by kings is no where decryed as unlawfull.

*Wh.* I doe not judge it unlawfull, nor against the word of God, or examples of scripture, butt doe believe they shall be nursing fathers; butt, as things were then with us, the representatives of the people judged the government of a free state to be att that time best for them.

Much other discourse was att this meeting on that subject.

29. The *Lord's day*. Lagerfeldt visited Whitelocke, and had discourse with him about the treaty, and how great an opinion the chancellor had of him; that he had received much satisfaction from him; and said, that he doubted not butt that his buisnes would come to a speedy and good issue, to his contentment.

The queen returned early in the morning from the country; this being usually with them a day of travayle: and it being the time of a fayre, the shops were open all the day, as they had bin the precedent Sunday; so little regard have they of this day, or of the observation of it, butt performe the ordinary works of their callings, buying and selling, carting, and travayling, uppon this as uppon any other day;

day; and, which is yett worse, acting commonly and openly 1653.  
 their debaucheries, and appointing their drinking meetings Jan. 29.  
 on the *Lord's day*.

Visits were made to Whitelocke upon this day, and to lett him know of the queen's being returned to this place; butt he staid in his own house, not going abroad himselfe, nor suffering his people to roame abroad this day, butt all of them joined together in the worship of God: and according to his custome, he had two good sermons in his house this day, and good and spirituall prayers offered up to God in the worship of him; and divers english and scotts in this town were now as usually present to be pertakers of these dueties.

Whitelocke visited Piemontelle, with whom he had usefull 30.  
 discourse about his negotiation, and pleasant, touching the queen's hunting.

He also visited Woolfeldt, who intertained him with discourse; wherof he made good use in the transaction of his buisnes, and passed divers howers with him, gaining knowledge from his experience, and delight by his facetious conversation.

He also received a visit from Lagerfeldt, who, in the queen's name, made offer to him of her majesty's sleds, to make use of them when he pleased to take the fresh ayre; for which favour he returned his humble thanks.

He visited the queen to wellcome her from her hunting, which in this countrey was described to him to be in this manner.



1653. As many people, as they can gett together, with guns,  
 bowes, staves, and other weapons, in a great multitude,  
 Jan. 30. some on horse-backe, and more on foot, goe to some great  
 wood where wild beasts doe harbour; and as many netts and  
 gennes, as they can gett and make, they sett about the wood,  
 at the places where the beasts use to come forth: then they  
 putt some hounds into the wood, with people to beate it; the  
 rest of the company furround the wood on the outside, with  
 as many dogges of all sorts as they can bring from all  
 quarters.

When any beaste is started or rowled, and comes forth,  
 be it conny, hare, deere, fox, wolfe, beare, or any other,  
 if it escape the netts, gennes, and gunnes, then they sett  
 their dogges, as many as they can, uppon it; and some pur-  
 sue one, and some another beast, untill they kill or take it,  
 or that it doe escape them.

Whitelocke, to requite the queen's relation, told her the  
 manner of their hunting in his countrey, which he indea-  
 voured to sett out the best he could, as a great lover of it,  
 and their dogges and horses; which her majesty highly com-  
 mended, and said she would send into England for some horses:  
 Whitelocke told her, that if she had a liking to any of his  
 horses, they were at her majesty's service, to take her choice  
 of any of them; for which she gave him thanks, and seem-  
 ed not unwilling to accept of the complement.

She then spake of Dr. Whistler, of whom she had heard  
 that he was a learned man, and an excellent physitian, and  
 she desired to speake with him. Whitelocke gave a character  
 of worth of the Doctor to the queen, as he deserved, and  
 said, that the Doctor should waite on her majesty when she  
 pleased

pleased to commaund him, and she would take contentment  
in him.

1653.  
Jan. 30.

*Qu.* Have not you a secretary who hath bin in Spayne?

*Wh.* One of my antient domestick servants, and one of my secretaries, hath bin in Spayne, and is an honest faithful servant.

*Qu.* I have heard that one of your daughters is of a good spirit, and averse to marriage.

*Wh.* My eldest daughter hath a good spirit, and therein hath the honor of following your majesty's patterne; and she hath refused good offers in marriage.

*Qu.* My chancellor is much satisfied by the conference he had with you; and I have ordered him to draw somewhat in writing for the clearing of some matters in the articles, and to draw an answer in writing to the papers, which you gave me since your change of government. I desire to know what will become of your treaty with the Dutch, before I give a full answer to your articles; because the ordering of our treaty will much depend upon your business with the Dutch.

*Wh.* I have given your majesty an account of that business.

*Qu.* And I have received much satisfaction by it.

*Wh.* Whither England have peace with the Dutch or not, yett the amity between England and Sweden may be concluded to the honor and good of both; and perhaps not of lesse advantage to both, in case our differences with Holland should continue.

D d d 2

*Qu.*

1653. *Qu.* Butt there will be alteration in some perticulars, according as your treaty with the Dutch shall take effect; one way or other; and the resolutions to be taken heer must necessarily have a dependance theruppon.  
 Jan. 30.

*Wh.* Your majesty's time must be observed, butt my desire is for what expedition may be.

*Qu.* My chancellor is an old man, and will take up much time in his discourse before he come to the buisnes; butt he will come to it att last, and agree to reason.

*Wh.* He is a person of great wisdom and abilities; perhaps he and his sons may have some shares in merchants' ships, which may occasion their extraordinary care in matters of that nature.

*Qu.* That is very true; butt I will be judge att last, and you shall not be unnecessarily delayed.

31. Canterstein, one of the queen's secretaries, came to Whitelocke from her majesty to informe him, that the queen, having received a paper from the resident of Holland, held it requisite to give an answer therunto in writing; butt before she sent it to the resident, she was pleased to testify that respect to the common-wealth of England as to communicate it to their ambassador heer. Whitelocke acknowledged with all thankfullnes her majesty's good affections and respects heerin to his superiors, and to their servant: he read the paper, which was in latin, to this effect.

Responsum

Responsum ad scriptum ministri publici Hollandiæ.

1653.

Jan. 31.

“ Reginam affecisse navis Anglicanæ culpam commissam  
 “ Gottenburgi, seq; supra ea re velle communicare cum  
 “ legato Anglicano, et pacem et bonam correspondentiam  
 “ factam tectam cum utriusq; statûs rebus publicis se velle  
 “ præservare.”

The answer to the writing of the publique minister of Holland.

“ That the queen was affected with the fault committed  
 “ by the english ship at Gottenburgh, and that she would  
 “ communicate uppon that matter with the English ambaf-  
 “ sador, and would firmly preserve peace and a good corre-  
 “ spondence with the common-wealths of both states.”

Whitelocke desired to see the resident's paper given to the queen; butt the secretary said, he had it not: Whitelocke excepted to the expression in this answer (culpam commissam), and said, he knew of no fault committed by any english ship att Gothenbergh, as this answer præsupposeth, butt what was done by the english ships there, was justifiable; butt that this expression would reflect uppon the honor of the common-wealth of England, and of their ambassador, who had the government and commaund of all the english ships which were att Gothenbergh when he was there.

He related to Canterstein what had bin done by the Phoenix and Elizabeth-frigotts, and by captain Welch, which he justified; and desired to know where the fault was, and that those words in this answer of (culpam commissam) might be omitted.

The

1653. The secretary answered, that he did not know any fault committed by the english ships; and he believed that the queen was of that opinion, and that this paper was only to intertaine the Hollanders in good humor; and those were but words, which might be changed, as in saying, that the Holland resident mentioned a fault, &c. and he said he would speake to the queen theruppon: Whitelocke desired it might be amended; and so they parted; and this troublesome and buisy moneth of January ended.

FEBRUARY.

## F E B R U A R Y.

**W**HITELOCKE, not having heard from the chancellor since their last meeting, held it fitt to send one of his servants to him, to know what time he would permit him to come to his lodging. 1653. Feb. 1.

The chancellor desired to be excused that day, because he was busy about the queen's affayres; butt as soon as he could have leisure he would send to Whitelocke to advertise him therof.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and desired of him the favour to write to his superiors, in the behalfe of one of the queen's subjects, whose goods in a ship att London were detained. Whitelocke wrote to Thurloe, earnestly pressing that those goods might be restored to gratify Lagerfeldt, who had bin very respectfull to him, and serviceable to the protector heer; and that therby the interest of Whitelocke with the protector might be testified, and he the better enabled to doe his highnes service heer.

Lagerfeldt often tooke occasion to speake of the queen high commending of our english horses, and perticularly those that Whitelocke had heer, which she had seen, and much praysed them; and said, that she had a great desire of having some english horses, and that she had chidden Lagerfeldt, because, when he was in England, he had not bought some english horses and brought them hither to her majesty, whom he knew to be so desirous of them.

Whitelocke

1653. Whitelocke understood this swedish language, and the  
 ~~~~~ english of it to be, to gett some of his horses for the queen,,  
 Feb. 1. which he the sooner apprehended,, by the late discourse of
 the queen herselfe in commendation of his horses..

He also thought that it might be some furtherance to his
 buisnes to give the queen contentment in so small a matter
 as this, and therefore resolved to make a present of three of
 his best saddle horses to the queen, such as were fittest
 for her own riding. In order wherunto, he sent the
 yeoman of his stable to the baron of Steinbergh, the master
 of the queen's horse, to advertise him, that he had given
 order for three of his horses to be brought to the castle, as
 a small present to her majesty, wherof he desired the baron
 to give her notice.

The horses being brought into the castle yard, the queen
 having notice of it by Steinbergh, came to the window to
 see them, and stood a great while looking on them, and
 much commending them, and Whitelocke's nobleness in
 making such a present to her..

Afterwards, Steinbergh came to Whitelocke's house from
 the queen, to give him thanks for the noble present which
 he had sent to her majesty, highly commending the horses,
 and saying, that nothing could have bin more agreeable to
 her majesty then this present of horses, and that she should
 have mounted them herselfe presently, had not the snow
 hindered her.

Steinbergh sent forty ricks dollers to captain de Crispe,
 the yeoman of Whitelocke's stable, and twenty ricks dollers
 more to the three groomes that brought the horses to the
 castle; and some supposed that the queen's officers tooke
 6 the

the liberty to retaine part of her majesty's bounty to themselves, which is said to be usuall with them. Stapleton, the gentleman of the horse to Whitelocke, was not willing himselfe to goe with the horses when they were presented; which had not bin improper for him, nor to his disadvantage.

1653-

Feb. 1.

Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne having sent a present of a deer 2.. to Whitelocke (proper from him, being master of her game) the deer being larger then the english fallow deer, butt very leane, and hardly worth dressing: yett Whitelocke ordered that his cookes should make the best meate they could of it; and this day to take parte of it, Woolfeldt, Lagerfeldt, colonel Hamilton, and the baron Spence, dined with Whitelocke, and commended the cookery more then the venison.

After dinner Lagerfeldt hastened away; and Whitelocke desired him to hasten the chancellor's proceedings in his treaty, which Whitelocke greatly desired to dispatch, and to see an end of it as soon as might be, not knowing in how short a time he might be commaunded home.

After Lagerfeldt was gone, Whitelocke had much discourse with Woolfeldt, who recited to him all his negotiation in England in the year 1642; and he spake freely touching Whitelocke's negotiation heer, and of the flowenes of the chancellor's proceedings, and of the advantages which he and his sons had by traffiquing. He held that the warre between England and Holland was much for the advantage of the treaty heer, who, he thought, would more desire that war to be continued then a peace to be made.

He advised Whitelocke to remit his buisnes to the queen herselfe, from whom he would gaine most ready dispatch and satisfaction.

1653. Whitelocke sent to Grave Tott to procure him the favour
 Feb. 3. to visit her majesty att such time as she should appoint ; butt
 answear was returned, that the queen desired to be excused,
 being not well, and lett bloud that day : butt some other
 time he should be very wellcome.

After dinner, the baron Steinbergh sent to Whitelocke's
 house three of the queen's sleds, to use them for his pleasure
 to take the fresh aier in them ; and Whitelocke made
 use of them for that purpose, and gratified her majesty's
 servants who brought them.

He visited Piementelle, who informed him that the comte
 Flaman, governor of Artois, had a designe to deliver the
 towns of St. Omer and Gravelin to the king of France ; butt
 his treason was detected, and he imprisoned and referred to
 justice.

Upon discourse of the Dutch treaty in England, Piementelle
 showed unto Whitelocke a copy of the heads of the
 speech of the French ambassador Chanut to the states
 generall att the Hague, upon the returne of their deputies
 from England ; wherein he congratulates the hopes of peace
 with England, and desires that his master, the king of
 France, may be comprised in that treaty with England.

Whitelocke sent the french copy of this speech, and the
 translation of it in english, to the protector, to whom only
 he was permitted by Piementelle to communicate it.

He gave intelligence to Thurloe of one Erpman, a Dane,
 and where he lay in London ; and that he gave constant intelligence
 of all the proceedings in England, both to Holland and Denmarke,
 and doing very ill offices to England.
 He

He also gave advice to Thurloe of some motions and particular passages of the king of Scotts, and of some coun- 1653.
fells and purposes of his against the common-wealth, which Feb. 3.
Whitelocke had learned in these parts, and from persons of quality and great knowledge and interest in the affairs of this court, and of France, and other parts; desiring Thurloe, by his intelligencers, to inquire further of these matters, and resolving himselfe to indeavour, by his correspondence, to gaine further and more particular knowledge of these matters.

He also gave a full account to the protector and to Thurloe of all his proceedings heer, desiring direction from thence in some points which he stated to them; and in this way the councill of state were informed, and from time to time gave approbation of his proceedings.

The expences of Whitelocke's voyage, and especially of 4.
his land journey, were excessive high, increased much by the rewards and gratuities, which he esteemed himselfe, in honor to his countrey, bound to bestow on many persons who did courtesies for him, or were employed by him: and he held himselfe obliged not to doe things meanly, or below the reputation of the great common-wealth by him represented.

To supply his occasions, he had letters to severall merchants att Hambourgh, and att Gothenbergh, and Stockholme, by the credit of Mr. Phips, a merchant in London.

When he was settled at Upsåle, his expences there were very great, by reason of his new-year's gifts, and rewards for services, and for courtesies.

1653. Butt principally his expences arose by his great hospitality, such as, the Swedes said, they never saw before : he had
 Feb. 4. five tables furnished every meale, his own family being great, and his table dayly frequented by divers of the grantees, and by inferior persons, who found there the best and most variety of meat that money could procure.

He allowed all his people what fuell they would spend, to thirty of their loads in a day, out of care of their health in that cold countrey and season, wherof he held good fires a great means of preservation.

When he was heer furnished with money, he charged the bills uppon his two brothers-in-law, Wilton and Carleton, who made use of their credits for 3000 or 4000 l. together, that his bills might not be unsatisfied.

Butt the difficulty lay in getting the money from the councill of state ; for which end Whitelocke's wife wrote him word, that she herselfe was attending the protector with earnest sollicitations, who civilly treated ; butt some of the members of the councill were not so civil, letting her waite early and long att their lodgings before she could be admitted to speake with their honors, to gett her husband's bills answered : only Sir Charles Oulsey was very civil and carefull to procure that justice to have the bills payd.

Heeruppon Whitelocke tooke the boldness to write to the protector, and to putt him in mind of his promise touching Whitelocke's expences, and to intreate him to order the satisfaction of his bills, and, peticularly, the payment of 2000 l. which, by this time, he had spent beyond his allowance. He wrote also to the same effect to severall of

his friends of the councell; and att last right was done therin. 1653.

Feb. 4.

The queen's secretary, Canterstein, came to Whitelocke from the queen, to show him her majesty's answear to the paper of the Holland resident; which answear, uppon Whitelocke's exception to the words (*culpam omiffam*), was now altered and amended as Whitelocke desired: and this was carryed with so much secrecy, that the Holland resident knew nothing of it, else would have storned att such an alteration. The statesmen heer are very secret in their transactions, and have therby no smalle advantage.

Canterstein also, by the queen's commaund, showed Whitelocke the project of a letter from her majesty to the protector, to congratulate his title; the which she would not signe without Whitelocke's approbation: and Canterstein said, she was resolved to testify as much respect to the protector as to any of her allies.

Whitelocke liked the letter, and thought not fitt to alter any part of it; only informed Canterstein of the protector's titles, and acknowledged her majesty's great respect unto his highness.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and discoursed freely of the treaty, and the chancellor's way in it; who, he said, had bin accustomed to a course of commaunding, and could hardly treat uppon equall termes: and he advised Whitelocke to treat with the queen herselfe, rather then with any other.

Whitelocke said, it was his desire to treat with the queen, from whom he was sure to find more reason and honor

1653. honor ; and that he had not bin used to be commaunded
 by any butt his superiors, which, he supposed, the chan-
 Feb. 4. cellor did not esteem himselfe. He did also communicate
 to Piementelle the unscemly answear of the chancellor, when
 he sent to him to appoint a meeting, that he was not att
 leisure ; which Piementelle said was like him. Whitelocke
 also advised with Piementelle, about a letter which he pur-
 posed to send to the chancellor to hasten his buisnes ; butt
 Piementelle dissuaded him from it, saying, he believed the
 queen would take it ill, who was very jealous of her honor
 and power, and did not like addressees to her ministers.
 Piementelle told Whitelocke of a question between him and
 the ricks admiral, whose coach should goe first att the bring-
 ing in of an ambassador ; the admiral insisting on it as his
 right, bicause Piementelle was butt an envoyé extraordi-
 nary : Piementelle alleadged his being a publique minister
 of the king of Spayne ; and the queen resolved it for Pic-
 mentelle to have precedence of all butt the prince's coach,
 and that Whitelocke was to have it of his likewise.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke in the name of the chan-
 cellor, desiring to be excused, that in eight dayes space he
 had not mett about the treaty, which was occasioned by his
 being extream buisy about the queen's affayres, so that he
 could not have an opportunity of meeting ; butt on Mon-
 day, or Tuesday next, he purposed to have another confe-
 rence, if Whitelocke's leisure would permit : who answer-
 ed, that his leisure would have permitted him to have mett
 every one of the last eight dayes if the chancellor had had
 leisure ; and he desired, that there might be no longer delay.

Lagerfeldt told Whitelocke, that the queen much desired
 a mare of the english breed, who theruppon sent one to
 her for a present.

An

An envoyé from the great duke, or emperor of Muscovia, arrived in this town ; he came in sledges 600 leagues ; ^{1653.} his trayne was not above twelve persons : he was entertained at the queen's charge all the time of his stay here, as ^{Feb. 4.} his master useth to entertaine the queen's ambassador.

Whitelocke, hearing that the queen was not well, sent his son James to inquire of her majesty's health : she commanded to have him brought into her bed-chamber, where he delivered his message in latin, and she complemented him in the same language ; which she used not to speake butt in a speciall favour, and bid him tell his father, that she was well againe, and now "*se non alio morbo laborare, quam quod tres integros dies non convenerit ipsam ;*" she was sicke of no other disease, butt that for three whole dayes he had not bin with her. 5.

The syndick of Gothenbergh informed Whitelocke, that, by letters from the president of that citty, he understood, that one of Whitelocke's servants, Taylor, who was sent to Gothenbergh to bring Whitelocke provisions from thence to Upsale, and to take up money of Mr. Goffe for it at Gothenbergh, was gone to Denmarke after Goffe ; and that one who mett Taylor in Denmarke was returned to Gothenbergh, and related, that the post, of whom Taylor hired a horse, said, he had heard nothing againe either of the man or horse, which gave occasion to feare that some mischief had befallen him, being a rash disorderly young man. Butt he went from Upsale to Gothenbergh, and from thence to Copenhagen, where he found out Goffe and received money of him, returned back to Gothenbergh, and from thence brought Whitelocke goods in sledges safely to Upsale ; and this toure was made in little more then one moneth's time.

Mr.

1653. Mr. Ravius, a german gentleman, who was frequent in
 Feb. 6. Whitelocke's house, gave him information of sundry passages relating to England, which he had learned by his relations heer, who were of a good interest in this court, and well affected to the common-wealth of England, especially a bishop, his father-in-lawe.

This gentleman professed a great love to England, because he had bin there relieved, and placed in Oxford, and now repented his leaving that preferment: he, in gratitude, proposed to Whitelocke a way how the riches of that common-wealth might be multiplied, in a way not unlike to that of the banke in Holland, butt of much greater advantage, as he believed. Whitelocke desired to have his project in writing, which was done, and by Whitelocke brought with him into England.

The queen had desired Whitelocke to instruct her in the english tounge, which she had a desire to learne; and Whitelocke brought her the beginning of an english grammar, which he had caused one of his chapleins, Mons. de la Marche, to frame, and was fayrely written in english and french by Mr. Moreland. Her majesty was much pleased with it, and tooke paynes att this, and other times, to understand it.

Whitelocke told her, that, according to her commaund, he had brought his doctor of physick to attend her majesty; who presently sent for him into her bed-chamber, and discoursed a great while with him in french, touching physick, and touching her own indisposition of health. She also propounded two questions to the doctor: 1. Whither physitians did know any thing by their art, or whither they were guided by adventure and chance? 2. Whither good
 philo-

philosophers were good christians? To both which the doctor's answers were full of ingenuity and learning. They discoursed long, and Whitelocke did not interrupt them; and, upon the point of circulation of the blood, the doctor gave her more then ordinary satisfaction: and in all matters, she said, she never received more from any person, and gave him the character of a learned able scholar and phyfitian.

1653.
Feb. 6.

The doctor being gone forth, the queen told Whitelocke, she was sorry that her chancellor had used him with so much incivility, as she had understood by Piementelle; and she prayed Whitelocke to excuse it, and offered to send to the chancellor about it, and to cause him to make his own excuse for it: butt Whitelocke intreated her majesty to take no notice of it; and she assured him of a speedy dispatch of his treaty.

She gave Whitelocke great thanks for the present of horses which he had sent her, and perticularly for his son's mare.

Mr. Clavering informed Whitelocke, that the merchants of Stockholme, and of the townes in Prussia, and other places of trade in the queen's dominions, had a meeting of their agents, where they agreed upon a list of the losses they had sustained by the english, in taking and detaining their ships and goods: and they cast up their losses to 200,000 ricks dollers, for which they demaund satisfaction of England, and are advised to have the same certified by the colledge of trade, wherof Grave Erick Oxenstierne, the chancellor's second son, is the president; and they expect upon the treaty with Whitelocke, that a course be taken for their satisfaction.

1653. Whitelocke held it not fitt to take any notice of this buif-
 nes, unleſs the ſame were firſt propoſed to him, and deſir-
 ed Clavering to ſpeake nothing of it ; butt, in caſe he could
 learne any thing further of this matter, to lett Whitelocke
 be informed of it.

7. According to the expectation and cuſtom of this coun-
 trey, Whitelocke returned a viſit to the archbiſhop of Ubfale,
 whoſe lodging was butt meane in the roomes and furni-
 ture : after complements and great civilities, they ſate down,
 and fell into diſcourſe, part wherof followes ;

Wh. Your grace hath the honor, and moſt worthily, to
 be the metropolitan of this kingdome.

Arch. It pleaſed the late king to eſteem me worthy of
 that great charge, though I acknowledge myſelfe unfitt for it.

Wh. Your merits appear the more by your humility,
 which brings men to honor.

Arch. The word of God is ſo ; and the higher employ-
 ments one is called unto, the more lowly he ought to be.

Wh. Your carriage agrees therewith, and report gives
 you a due reputation.

Arch. A good name is a bleſſed thing, and God is good
 to me heerin, as in all other things ; and I have reſpect from
 my brethren and others.

Wh. We in England have almoſt forgot the diſtinction
 of clergy and laity, ſuppoſing it to have bin introduced by
 the papacy for advancement of their order.

Arch.

Arch. It is related heer, that you have not only abolish-
ed that distinction, butt even hierarchy itselſe.

1653.
Feb. 7.

Wh. We have now no prelacy in England or Scotland; our biſhops were their own deſtruction: butt with you, the authority and dignity of biſhops continues, as it was in former times.

Arch. The ſtate eccleſiaſticall with us (blessed be God) is ſtill preſerved, and our church governed by biſhops and ſuperintendents, and their officers; by which means the church of Chriſt heer enjoys much peace, and flouriſheth.

Wh. Long may you flouriſh, and enjoy quiet, and the freedom and purity of the goſpell, which we hope (through the goodnes of God) we alſo enjoy in England. Doe the biſhops and their officers with you determine thoſe matters which you call eccleſiaſticall?

Arch. Their juřiſdiction hath bin formerly more ample then it is att preſent; butt they ſtill have the determination of ſpirituall matters, and governement of the clergy.

Wh. Is there no appeale from them to the civill power?

Arch. In ſome caſes there is, and alſo when they exceed their juřiſdiction.

Wh. So it was with us in England; and the cogniſance of marryages, divorces, adulteries, fornication, and crimes contra bonos mores, which they called ſpirituall offences (although perhaps they might as well have bin called carnall); and the questions about willes and testaments, be-
longed

1653. longed unto them, because they are usually made when
 { men are in extremis, and have need of ghostly counsell.
 Feb. 7.

Arch. You speake more like a civilian then a foldier: the same jurisdiction, in effect, belongs to the ecclesiasticall state heer, and therby the people have much ease, and acquiesce in those judgements; and our people are not given to contention, nor our clergy to disorder, so that the ecclesiasticall government hath the lesse trouble.

Wh. It is a happy condition to live together in unity; butt you suffer no dissenting in opinion.

Arch. No man must vent his private fancyes, or new opinions, contrary to the doctrine of the church; if he doe, we severely punish it.

Wh. That is somewhat strict, and may be construed to a kind of assumption of infallibility.

Arch. We take no such thing uppon us, butt desire to preserve peace and unity in the church, and members of it.

Wh. Those are good things; butt I doubt hardly to be settled in this world, where offences must come.

Arch. Butt woe to those by whom they come.

Wh. They may possibly come by too much imposing uppon mens consciences, as well as by new opinions.

Arch. We impose no further then is warranted by the word of God.

Wh.

Wh. And who interprets that word?

1653.

Arch. The church of God.

Feb. 7.

Wh. The holy scriptures interpret one another.

Arch. That is true ; and learned men are the best interpreters of those scriptures.

Wh. We are not wanting of such men in England.

Arch. Then you are injured ; for the report goes, that you regard not learning, and that you are putting downe the famous universities in your countrey, wherby learning will wholly decay and be destroyed.

Wh. That indeed is an injury ; and I assure you, that our universities were never in a more flourishing condition then they now are.

Arch. I am glad to heare it ; and I confesse I have not mett with such learning in a soldier as you show.

Wh. I am butt meanly learned ; butt our universities are full of eminent learned men, and are the fountaines from whence the whole land is watered with the streames of the gospel, by sending out learned men from thence, who labour in Christ's vineyard.

Arch. Are your ministers in repute among you?

Wh. Godly, learned, and able ministers, were never in greater repute then they now are.

Arch.

1653. *Arch.* Butt I doubt their means is shortened by taking
 away the church-lands.
 Feb. 7.

Wh. The lands of bishops, of deanes and chapters, are
 fould; butt the parlement added to the means of the
 preaching ministry neer 50,000 l. sterling yearly, more then
 they had before.

Arch. That is a good addition. Are their livings in
 parishes by tithes, as our are, and of good value?

Wh. Their maintenance is by tithes in their respective
 parishes, and by glebe lands: some of their livings are
 worth 500, 600, 700 l. sterling yearly, and most above
 100 l. yearly.

Arch. That is farre beyond the proportion in our coun-
 trey: how many spirituall livings have you?

Wh. There be in England neer 10,000 benefices, there
 being so many parishes.

Arch. We have not halfe so many in this kingdome, butt
 they are very large; nor are our spirituall benefices neer the
 value of yours. Who bestowes those benefices?

Wh. Private patrons; and I and my colleagues doe give
 many of them.

Arch. How can you bestow spirituall livings? are you in
 holy orders?

Wh.

Wh. Heer are my orders by my side; butt, as I am keeper of the seale of England, I have belonging to that place the guift of many spirituall benefices. 1653.
Feb. 7.

Arch. That is strange to me to belong to one that weares a sword: with us, none butt the bishops and superintendents, persons in holy orders, can bestow those livings.

Wh. Lett me desire your grace to informe me the manner of your institution of ministers, and conferring on them your spirituall benefices, as you call them.

Arch. We call them spirituall livings, bicause they are for the livelyhood of spirituall men; and I shall informe your excellence the way of our ordination of men for such a holy function to preach the gospel. When one is presented to the bishop for that calling, if he is found in learning and abilities fitt for it, the bishop doth first ordaine him to be a deacon; and, in that office, he makes triall of his guifts for preaching, and so continues untill he be admitted to a benefice; and uppon such admission he is made a priest.

Wh. That is according to the canon law, that none be made a priest sine titulo, before a benefice be provided for him: butt how are they presented to such promotions?

Arch. When any priest of a parish is dead, or removed, so that the parish is destitute of a minister, the parishioners meet together, and agree uppon the names of three deacons, whom they present to the bishop; and out of them he chooseth one to be the priest of that parish, and ordaines him a presbiter, and putts him in possession of the living.

Wh.

1653. *Wh.* That is a good way to satisfy the people who are to
 pay the dueties to the ministers.
 Feb. 7.

Arch. And care is taken to putt in none butt worthy
 and able men into the livings.

Wh. Being so good care is taken to place fitt and worthy
 ministers in the parishes, I-marvaile they doe not better in-
 struct the people, to live more soberly and orderly then
 many of them doe, and not to prophane the Lord's day, as
 too many heer doe.

Arch. The ministers are not wanting to exhort and ad-
 monish the people ; butt, in these countryes, the custome of
 too excessive drinking hath taken too deep roote ; and,
 for observation of the Sunday, there is due care taken.

Wh. I have bin much grieved to see heer so little obser-
 vation of that day, or rather so great a prophanation of it :
 the shops are kept open, fayres and marketts held, buying
 and felling of commodities, carryages, labours, and per-
 forming the ordinary workes of their calling uppon that
 day, as uppon any other ; nay sometimes even to disorder
 and debauchery in the open streets uppon the Lord's day.
 Surely God is offended att such things, and will not
 lett them passe unpunished ; and your grace is more espe-
 cially concerned then any other to indeavor a reformation
 therof.

Arch. No such works, nor recreations are permitted heer,
 butt post-sacra peracta, after divine service ended ; and then
 they may be the better tollerated.

• *Wh.*

Wh. Certainly a part of that day was not sett aside, butt 1653.
the whole day was sett a-part for the speciall service and ^{Feb. 7.}
worship of God; and we are to abstaine the whole day from
the workes of our calling, else we hardly shall be accounted
to keep it holy.

Arch. We observe the Sunday heer in the same manner
as we doe the other holy-dayes.

Wh. You make a difference between the holy-dayes,
which were instituted in the memory of some perticular
saints, and the Lord's day, which was dedicated to our
Lord Christ, and instituted in memory of his resurrection.

Arch. They are by humane institution to be kept holy;
and our Saviour saith, *it is lawfull on the Sabbath day to*
help one's ox or asse out of the ditch; and to dresse meate
uppon that day is also lawfull.

Wh. Workes of charity and necessity may be performed
on that day, butt not workes of mens ordinary callings,
the day being sanctified, and sett a-part for God's worship.

Arch. I doe confesse that there is too much negligence
among us as to the observation of that day; and in the
convocation of the clergy in this countrey, there was a
learned debate touching this matter; and it was the opinion
of many there (of whome I was one), that the other holy-
dayes are not to be ranked in equall honor and observation
with the Sunday, and the difference of the institution of
the one and of the other was noted: butt all agreed in this
determination of what was then fittest to be done, that, for
feare of tumults and insurrections by the rude people, it
was not safe to make a suddein change in that which had

1653. bin by so long custome and continuance confirmed, and
 Feb. 7. wherunto the people generally had so much fondnes.

8. An audience was desired by Whitelocke from the queen, and att the same time she sent Grave Tott to Whitelocke to invite him to the audience of the Muscovia envoyé: the Grave stayed dinner with Whitelocke, and, after that, Whitelocke went to the lodging of Piementelle, to rest himselfe there till the time of the audience; whither Grave Tott brought him word, that the audience was putt off, because the russe had sent word, that the notice of his audience not being given him till about ten a'clocke this morning, he had before that time dranke so much aquavitæ, that he was already drunke, and not in a condition to have his audience that day; butt desired it might be appointed another day, and he to have earlier notice of it.

Whitelocke spake with the queen touching his treaty, and after that showed her a letter which he had prepared to send to the chancellor to quicken him in the treaty; butt said he would not send it if any thing therin were displeasing to her majesty. The queen read it *.


See appendix G.

The english copy signed by Whitelocke was thus:

To his excellence the great chancellor of the kingdome of Sweden.

MY LORD,

“ My attendance in this place having bin above seaven
 “ weekes uppon my negotiation, which her majesty was
 “ pleased to referre unto your excellence; and the an-
 “ swear to my proposalls not being yett made known to
 3 “ me,

“ me, nor opportunity given of meeting your excellence 1653.
 “ in fouerteen dayes last past : I being uncertain how soon 
 “ my returne may be commanded, therefore, and in dif- Feb. 8.
 “ charge of my duety to my lord, the protector of the
 “ common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and
 “ for the better expediting of those affayres wherewith his
 “ highness hath intrusted me, and that I may not appeare
 “ negligent therin, I held it requisite to desire your excel-
 “ lence, that an answer may be given to the propositions
 “ by me presented, and in such time as may not be incon-
 “ venient to other great affayres, nor to this perticular,
 “ wherin the honor and good of both nations is con-
 “ cerned.

Upsale, Feb. 8.
 1653.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

The queen commended the letter; and said, she thought
 it would be to good purpose to send it, only she excepted
 against a clause in it, that Whitelocke will be ready to
 meet the chancellor when he pleaseth, which, the queen
 said, was too lowe for the ambassador to write to the chan-
 cellor; wheruppon Whitelocke mended that part, and sent
 the letter as above recited: to which the chancellor re-
 turned answer by Whitelocke's servant that presented it,
 that he had bin very buisy about the queen's affayres, and
 that he would give a meeting to Whitelocke the next day
 butt one.

The queen read some english with Whitelocke, and tooke
 pains to learne; when Whitelocke took his leave, she in-
 vited him to come agayne in the evening to heare her
 musicke.

1653. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the chancellor, to
 ~~~~~ excuse his not having mett with him in many dayes, and  
 Feb. 8. to appoint the same time as had bin intimated before by  
 Whitelocke's servant..


In the evening Whitelocke went againe to court, as the queen had invited him, and was brought into her bed-chamber, and divers of his gentlemen admitted in likewise to heare her majesty's musicke, which was very rare, and performed by divers Italian eunuches, and others, her servants, and by Madam de la Bar, a french woman, and her brother, who sang rarely well..

Besides Whitelocke, there was in the chamber Piementelle, the Compte de Montecuculi, and another Italian Compte, and many of her court. The queen was in a very good humor, and taking Whitelocke by the hand, she ledde him to a lady in the roome, whom they called La Belle Comptesse, the fayre countesse, the wife of Grave Jacob de la Garde : the queen sayd to Whitelocke, discourse with this lady, my bed-fellowe, and tell me if her inside be not as beautifull as her outside..

Whitelocke discoursing with her, found it so ; and great modesty, virtue, and witt, accompanying her excellent beauty and behaviour..

The queen pulled off the countesse's gloves, and gave one of them to Whitelocke for a favour ; the other she tore in four pieces, and distributed them to Piementelle, the Italians, and to Grave Tott.. In recompence of the glove, Whitelocke sent to the belle comptesse a douzen payre of english white gloves, which are in much esteem in this countrey..

The

The Italian. Compté de Montecuculi saluted Whitelocke 1653  
with great civility, and he returned the like respects agayne.  Feb. 8.

The queen sent one of her servants to Whitelocke, to 9.  
give him notice of the audience of the Muscovia envoyé;  
Whitelocke went to court att the time, and there fell out a  
little bustle, the ricks admirall stepping betwixt the queen  
and Whitelocke to take his place there, was by Whitelocke  
putt aside, and Whitelocke stood next to the queen on her  
right hand: she perceiving the passage smiled, and asked  
Whitelocke, how he durst affront so great an officer in her  
court and sight? Whitelocke answered, bicause that officer  
first affronted the ambassador of the great common-wealth  
of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The queen replied,  
you doe well to make them know themselves and you the  
better.

The audience was in this manner: First there presented  
himselfe a tall bigge man, with a large rude black beard,  
pale countenance, and ill demeanor.

His habit was a long robe of purple cloth, laced with a  
finall gould lace, the livery of his master; on his right  
hand was a companion in the same livery, and much like  
the envoyé in feature and behaviour: he carryed on high  
the great duke's letters, sett in a frame of wood, with a  
covering of crimson farcenet over them; on the left hand  
of the envoyé was his interpreter.

After his uncouth reverences made, he spake to the queen  
in his own language; the greatest part of his harangue, in  
the beginning, might be understood to be nothing butt his  
master's titles: in the midst of his speech he was quite out;  
but;

1653. butt, after a little pause, recovered himselfe againe with the assistance of a paper,  
Feb. 9.

When he had done, one of the queen's servants interpreted in Swedish what was said : then one of the queen's secretaries answered in Swedish to what the envoyé had spoken ; and that was interpreted to him in his own language by his own interpreter.


After this, the envoyé cast himselfe flatt upon his face on the floore, and seemed to kisse it ; then rising up agayne, he went and kist the queen's hand, holding his own hands behind him. In the same order his fellow demeaned himselfe, and presented to the queen his master's letters.

The queen gave the letter to Whitelocke to looke on it ; it was sealed with an eagle ; the characters were like the Greek letters, and some like the Persicke. After the ceremony ended, the ruffes returned to their aquavitæ, and Whitelocke to his lodging to dinner.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke being invited by the queen to accompany her to take the ayre on horseback, he waited on her, and had much discourse with her about his buisnes.

She was mounted upon one of the horses which Whitelocke gave her, and had pistols att her saddle bowe ; she much commended the horse, and thanked Whitelocke for him, and said she never rode so good a horse before.

Att their returne to the castle they fell to trying of armes ; the queen's pistols and Whitelocke's pistols were com-

compared together for the workmanship, and both tryed, 1653. by the queen herselfe discharging them, and by Whitelocke  and others; butt he being lame, and weary with standing, <sup>Feb. 9.</sup> stole home to his lodging.

The chancellor came to Whitelocke's house, and they <sup>10.</sup> were together above four howers; the sum of the chancellor's discourse was to this effect:

He made a very large apology for his long absence from Whitelocke, saying, that he was imployed in a very great buisnes by the queen's commaund, which had taken up very much of his time; and did confesse ingeniously, that he desired first to know what would be the event of the treaty between England and Holland, before he proceeded further with Whitelocke in the treaty heer, bicause the issue of that treaty in England would necessarily beget an alteration in those things which did concerne the treaty heer.

That it was yett doubtfull whither the treaty in England would take effect, and be confirmed or not; that if England and Holland should make a league between them, then as the articles heer are propounded, if they should be so agreed between Sweden and England, Sweden should thereby incurre the hatred of the Hollanders, and they would study revenge against Sweden: butt if the peace should not be made betwixt England and Holland, then there would not be so much daunger.

That many letters did affirme, that the king of Denmarke was included in the same articles of confederation with the Hollanders, who had undertaken, in favor of the Danes, that satisfaction should be given to the English for  
the

1653. the wrongs by them sustained; which, if it should be true, then probably, by force of the articles with Holland, the English will have liberty to exercise free navigation through the Sundt, and then there will not be so much need of consent to the first and fifth articles of the treaty heer; which if they should be consented unto before hand, it would breed an occasion of hatred and enmity on the part of the Swedes towards the Danes, to be professed by the Swedes, as if it were a detriment to the kingdome of Sweden for the Danes to be included in the articles of pacification between England and Holland.

That there are many things besides, in the articles heer, which concerne navigation and transportation of commodities from countrey to countrey, wherof there will be no use if the peace between England and Holland be concluded; and if the war should be continued, then a perticular care is to be had more then otherwise. Out of all which, he concluded that it was necessary, before the buisnes heer should be finished, to understand what issue and event that treaty would have in England; the desire of knowing the truth and certainty wherof was the cause that hitherto he had not given a meeting unto Whitelocke: and that, having taken the best consideration he could upon the articles heer under judgement, he should be the better able to give Whitelocke satisfaction theruppon.

He expressed a great respect to the common-wealth of England, and the desirableness of an alliance with them; butt that the manner of the making therof would much depend upon the issue of that treaty in England.

That the present war between the two common-wealths, by further delay, might involve Sweden, if they should  
con-

consent to Whitelocke's proposalls ; when att present they were free from war, and injoyed a full peace.

1653.  
Feb. 19.

Then the chancellor fell into a very large discourse of all the affayres between Sweden and Denmarke, and in Russia, Poland, and Germany. He spake much also of the severall ports of Wismer, Stetin, Riga, Narva, and others, in the Baltick sea, and of the severall commodities in them, wherof England had use.

That the Swedes more desired trade with the English then any other nation ; and professed, that he should never be wanting to testify his respects to that common-wealth.

To that which Whitelocke demaunded of him, whither peace or war between the two common-wealths would most please them, and conduce to their affayres, he said, that as a christian, and a friend to mankind, he wished peace to all the world, and especially between the two common-wealths ; and that he wished the same as he was a minister of state, bicause he believed, that then there would be a free navigation through the Sundt, which would be to the great benefit of Sweden, and wherby their trade would be increased, and their commodities and marchants have the more safe and free passage ; which now, by reason of the differences of those common-wealths, were very much disturbed and indamaged : that a smalle matter did sometimes turne the dye of war, and, therfore, he judged it the part of prudent men to imbrace peace when it could be obtained.

The sum of Whitelocke's answear to this long speech of the chancellor was to this purpose :

VOL. I.

H h h

He



1653. He thanked the chancellor for his candid and cleer dealing with him in this buisnes, wherby he testified that honor and ingenuity which was in him ; that he knew the affayres, wherin the chancellor was imployed, were many and the greatest, and his the best hand that the queen could putt them into.

Feb. 10.

That he was sorry, it could not yett be known what would be the event of the treaty in England, nor could he tell how long a time it might be before the same could be knowne, nor in how short a time it might please the protector to commaund his returne home ; which were the reasons why he was so desirous to obtaine an answer to his propositions.

That, in the matters proposed by him, was no mention of the Hollanders, and although att that time they were in war against England, yett that caused then no objections against this treaty ; and it was hard for him to find out a reason, that the objections should be raysed upon a treaty of peace with the Dutch, which were not att first, when it was known they were in war with England. That if peace be made between the two common-wealths, there may possibly be some labour saved therby in the drawing up of the treaty heer. That this to him was no great occasion of altering his proposalls, nor did he know any extraordinary cause for an alteration on the Swedes part upon that occasion ; butt they were the judges therof : and if the war should be continued with Holland, then the matter will be the same as when the proposall were heer first received ; and the making of a peace with Holland cannot make these articles the lesse gratefull heer, or occasion any alteration in them, or ill will between this crown and Holland, which is not named in the articles ; neither could he see

that, by them, between Sweden and Denmarke an enmity 1653. was like to be contracted, wherof he thought there was <sup>Feb. 10.</sup> enough already.

That as to the article touching prohibited goods, if the war continue, perticular agreements theruppon are referred to a future consideration, and if the peace be made, then that labour will be saved: and whither the English have war or peace with Holland, he thought their friendship and alliance worthy the Swedes' acceptance; and that, by their present war, no dishonor had befallen England, butt their power att sea (through God's blessing) had appeared not to be inconsiderable, and therefore their alliance not to be undesirable.

That Sweden had many potent envious neighbors, as by what the chancellor had related of Denmarke, Muscovia, Poland, and Germany, did appeare; for which relations Whitelocke thanked him, and held them all to be arguments for an alliance with England.

As to the commodities of the ports of this town, he sayd, that Monf. Lagerfeldt, in his negotiation in England, had offered them to be had att Gothenbergh, in case the navigation were not free through the Sundt; and as those were necessary for England (which they also could have in their own dominions in the Indies), so the more liberty of fetching them would be the more for the commodity of the queen and her subjects.

That the chancellor had now, and all times expressed himselfe a pious christian and wise statesman in his wishes of peace, to have which, Whitelocke knew to be the desire of his superiors.

1653. The sum of all he could gett from the chancellor was,  
 ~~~~~ that, before a proceeding in the treaty heer, it was re-  
 Feb. 10. solved to know what would be the event of that in Eng-
 land.

- II. Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne visited Whitelocke, who thanked him for the deare and great oyfters which he had sent to him the day before, and which were a great rarity in these parts, most of them brought hither out of Holland.

The Grave caused to be brought to Whitelocke's house, a Laplander and his fledde drawn by a rayne deer, wherof the Laplander had two very tame.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke while the Laplander and his wife were with him: the man (if he may be so tearmed) is of a short stature, thicke and strong made; his face and countenance very unlike to other men, a broade face, a high forehead, a great head, staring eyes, long nose, a very wide mouth, and swelled lippes; his language not understood by the Swedes, more then the Irish is by the English; his fashion very rude, his habit of beasts' skins, with the hayre outward, jacket, breeches, and stockins of the same. When he daunced, which he was apt to doe, it was in a strange uncouth posture, and his singing was little different from howling: his wife was a fitt match for him, in respect of person, feiture, and behaviour.

The *rayne* deer, which they commaunded, are of a whitish colour, bigger then our fallow deer, little lesse then our red deer; their heads more like our stagges then buckes, their joints and limbes are very strong and thicke, like their governors, and they are as tame as any dogges: they have an incredible swiftnes in their running, insomuch, as it is con-

confidently affirmed, that one of them will draw a sledde, 1653.
 with a man in it, 100 miles in a day ; nay, they doe not
 stay heer, butt report, that if one have an extraordinary ^{Feb. 11.}
 occasion to be 300 miles from the place where he is, if he
 take a sledde and a rayne deer, and, wrapping himselfe
 with furies, lye down to sleep in the sledde, having first
 whispered the rayne deer in the eare whither he would goe,
 that in twelve hours the deer will bring him to the place
 appointed, though it be two or three hundred miles from
 the place where he first tooke the sledde ; butt this is confest
 to be done by the power of witchcraft, and it is better to
 heare them relate it, then to make any tryall of it.

After they had seen a course with the Laplander in his
 sledde with his rayne deer, Piementelle invited Whitelocke
 to goe to the castle to see shooting att the White with har-
 quebusses and pistolls : they went together in Piementelle's
 coach, which was of such a fashion that one might make a
 bed of the whole coach, or place a table in it, and under
 one seate might putt meate, and under the other bottles ;
 both sides of the coach were close with glasse windowes to
 open or shutt as they pleased.

Being come to the castle, they saw the queen discharge
 two or three pistolls out of the windowe ; and many gen-
 tlemen and officers of the army were there shooting at the
 White, which is a great recreation with them.

When Whitelocke was waiting on the queen att her
 sports and recreations and taking the aier, she would some-
 times speake a little to him by the way, touching the
 treaty ; butt he never would, att those times, putt her
 uppon it to interrupt her diversions, butt answer her
 questions.

1653. questions only. When they were shooting att the White,
 she spake to him thus :
 Feb. 11.

Qu. Monsieur L'Ambassadeur, what discourse had you yesterday with my chancellor about the treaty ?

Wh. Madame, we had a very large conference together about it ; butt he seems desirous to know, what will be the issue of the dutch treaty in England before any further proceedings in my buisnes heer.

Qu. I think it a very reasonable thing ; and I believe you doe so too.

Wh. I cannot deny butt in some respects it may be reasonable, butt I desire greatly the conclusion of my buisnes ; and doe hope, that when the slow pace of our fatt neighbors will permit their treaty with England to come to a conclusion, that your majesty will not be long in resolving about my buisnes heer.

Qu. I promise you, that after the certainty shall be known of the dutch treaty with you in England, you shall receive my answer in a short time ; wherein I will deale very freely with you, and tell you, without difficulty, what I can consent unto, and what I cannot, and my reasons for it.

Wh. I desire no better assurance of my dispatch then the word of a queen, who deales so like a queen with me ; and I shall ingage myselfe to deale like a gentleman.

Qu. I have found no other butt honorable dealing from you ; the reason, why my chancellor hath not given an answer

answear in writing to your propositions, is, bicause I did not approve of that which he had prepared and shewed to me, butt ordered him to make a new project. 1653. Feb. 11.

Uppon invitation from the queen, Whitelocke was att the castle late in the evening to heare the queen's musick, which was so excellent, and the queen in so good a humor, that Whitelocke stayer there many howres in the night in much pleasure: her majesty would often come to Whitelocke and discourse with him of her musicke, wherof he was able to make some judgement, which the queen found, and liked well; butt Whitelocke would not interrupt her delight with one word of serious matters, unles her majesty first propounded them unto him.

The queen had much commended Whitelocke's eldest son, for a handsome, well-fashioned, young gentleman; and being told that he had not bin well, so great was her favour and civility, that she sent this morning one of her servants to Whitelocke's house to inquire of his son's heath. 123

After Whitelocke had celebrated this *Lord's day* in the usuall manner, and had heard two good sermons preached by his chaplains in his house, there was in the evening a great noise and disorder in the street before his house, trumpets sounding and drummes beating, with shoutings and a great tumult of all sorts of people; wherat looking, and sending forth, they found the buisnes to be, that a great company of gentlemen and officers of the army, and others, among whom was generall major Horne, and other great men, came into the open markt place, marching thither through the streets, with drummes beating and trumpets sounding before them, and servants carrying flaggons of wine and glasses after them. In this posture (not for divine service or worship) they came into the markt place, where they made

1653. made a great ring, placed their servants, with the flaggons, bottles, and glasses, in the midst of the ring, and themselves kneeling downe round about: there they dranke healths to the queen a long time together, drummes and trumpets and roaring att every drinking of the health, proclaiming this astonishing impudence of sinning to the face of God with an high hand. A debauchery not to be practised att any time, much lesse in so horrible a wickedness and prophanation of his day, who is able, and will punish such detestable iniquities and flagitious crimes; instead of the service and worship of God on this day, they thus betooke themselves to the worship and service of the divell.

After they had done thus in the markett place (which some imagined was purposely as a scorne to Whitelocke), they returned againe reeling to other streets, doing the same wickedness there also; butt Whitelocke tooke no notice of it, butt pittied their condition, and was grieved for them.

13. The queen sent to Whitelocke to beare her company to take the aier on horse-backe, which he did; and by the way she had some little touches with him about his treaty: att their returne to the castle, she intertained Piemontelle, Montecuculi, and Whitelocke with pleasant discourse two howers together.

She spake of most noted authors who had written in the italian, french, latin, greek, and other languages; and before all the rest she commended Petronius. Whitelocke asked her if she had seen a booke lately written in latin by one Milton, an englishman, and how she liked his stile; she highly commended the matter of part of it, and the language.

Then

Then she fell into the prayse of Germanicus, and severall other worthies, Greekes and Romans, and showed her great knowledge in history and in the sciences. 1653.
Feb. 13.

One informed Whitelocke, as a great secret, that the queen intended to quit the crown; and said, that she had proposed it to her councill of senators, and that she purposed to retire herselfe unto a private life: that the senators were much troubled att it, and sought to dissuade her majesty from any such intention; butt that she continued very resolute in her purpose, and sought for a seasonable time and opportunity to effect it.

Sir George Fletewood, an english gentleman, visited and performed many civilities and kindneses to Whitelocke: he came into this countrey many years past, with some of his countrymen, to serve the king Gustavus Adolphus, from whom he had great favour, and was made a collonell, and afterwards governor of a town, and a generall major: he marryed an heir in this country, by whom he had severall children, and a fayre estate, and was now settled heer, and well beloved att court, and in the army, and in the countrey, as if he had bin a native of it. He is a gentleman of a good family, and of much honor and integrity, and of particular friendlynes to Whitelocke, with whom he was often heer, and did very good offices for Whitelocke, and informed him of many materiall and usefull matters: he also had the newes of the queen's design to quit the crown, and was one of the first without doors that acquainted Whitelocke with that newes,

Intimation having bin given to Whitelocke, that the compte de Montecuculi, and another italian compte with him, had a great desire to see the fashions of England in 14.

1653. the english ambaffador's house, Whitelocke intertained them,
 with Piementelle, who brought them to dinner to him; and
 Feb. 14. they seemed not a little pleased with his musick, and with
 the treatment that Whitelocke gave them, which they termed
 high and noble; and were very respectfull to Whitelocke,
 both before, and especially after it.

This Montecuculi was generall of the horse to the emperor, and one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber; he came hither from the emperor's court to visit the queen; others said he came to sollicite a marryage between the queen and his master's son, the king of the Romans: the queen used him with great civility and testimonies of favour, wherof he is deserving, being a gentleman of much honor, and very ingenious in his discourse, and of a gallant carriage.

They had discourse of all the present transactions and great affayres of Europe; and, amongst the rest, they said, that all the world talked of the queen's designe to abdicate herselfe, to quit the crown and government, and retire to a private life; and Piementelle said, he believed that the mind of the queen was much sett that way. Whitelocke asked if they had heard of any discontent between her and her people, or great men; or what should cause her to take such a resolution, so destructive to her good and power.

They answered, that no prince in the world had the people, great men, and officers in more intire obedience and affection then the queen had all her subjects of every degree (wherof Whitelocke was also an eye-witness), and that it was only her desire of retirement which brought her unto this resolution.

Lagerfeldt

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and was full of the same 1653.
 discourse, and said, if the queen should doe it, it would be ^{Feb. 14.}
 a cause of great sadness to all her people; that the queen,
 about two years since, had proposed this to the senate, of
 whom some dissuaded her against it, affirming that she could
 not resigne the crown without the consent of those that in-
 trusted her, and for whose sake she had undertaken the go-
 vernement, and said, that they never would consent to her
 abdication: that notwithstanding this, yett now againe she
 proposed the same thing to the senate, who were att present
 in consultation about this high point, and it was much
 debated.

Whitelocke tooke no notice to any, that he had ever heard
 of it butt by these discourses, nor discovered to any what
 had passed between the queen and him about it.

Two valets de la chambre, pages of the queen's chamber,
 came to visit Whitelocke, and to take their leaves of him,
 being uppon their departure for France, and from thence to
 goe to England; and they came to the ambassador to know
 what service he would commaund them thither: and in re-
 gard they had bin very civill and officious to Whitelocke,
 and had often come to him with messages from the queen;
 and being informed that it was the custom of this court to
 bestow gratuities uppon such persons, and that would be
 made known to the queen, and well taken by her, uppon
 these considerations, and to complement the queen in this
 smalle buisnes, Whitelocke gave to each of these gentlemen
 a diamond ring, of the value of forty ricks dollers a-piece,
 as a testimony of his gratitude for the respects and good of-
 fices which they had done him in this court, and to the queen
 their mistrefs, in whose favour they were; and the gentle-
 men most thankfully accepted their present, and extolled the

1653. noblenes of the english ambaffador to their fellow courtiers,
 and to the queen herfelfe, who tooke great notice of it.
 Feb. 14.

15. The fyndick of Gothenbergh made a great complaint to Whitelocke, on behalfe of divers of that citty, interefted in a fhip brought by the english capers into Dover; and that the mariners were pillaged and imprifoned, though the fhip and goods and men were all fwedifh. Whitelocke demaunded of him what ground he had for this complaint, he faid, he had received letters of it from Gothenbergh, who had received letters of it out of England, written by a master of a fwedifh fhip, who informed them of it. Whitelocke asked him, if the master of the fhip were not a Hollander; and what goods were in the fhip thus taken? he answered, that the master was a native of Hølland, butt now an inhabitant of Gothenbergh, and a fubject of the queen of Sweden; and that the lading of the fhip was masts, and pitch, and tarre, for Portugall: and he intreated Whitelocke to write into England in favour of thefe parties, and that juftice might be done for them. Whitelocke defired of him a memoire in writing heerof, and faid, he did not believe that any fuch thing was done in England, who did juftice to all the world; that this might be a matter controverted: yett, if it were as the fyndick informed, he did believe that juftice would be done, and fatisfaction made to the parties interefted; and he promifed to write effectually to England for that purpofe.

Whitelocke vifited Grave Gabriel Oxenftierne; and from thence went and vifited the fenator Rosen Haw, who had bin ambaffador extraordinary from this crown to Poland, and alfo to France. He lived in a very hanfome condition, being inabled therunto by the cuftome of this countrey, which is fo favourable to thofe who have hazarded themfelves

in publique and foreign services, that he, who hath once bin ^{1653.}
 an ambassador, keeps not only the title and priviledges be-
 longing to that quality, butt hath likewise a pension or other ^{Feb. 15.}
 provision allowed him for his maintenance in that condition
 during his life ; and so Whitelocke was informed, that it was
 with this gentleman they had much discourse concerning
 those places and affaires about which he had bin imployed ;
 and he seemed to be a man of able parts, butt somewhat high
 and negligent in his demeanor.

Then Whitelocke visited the french resident, who (after
 his maner) made large profession of his great respect to the
 common-wealth of England and to my lord protector, which
 was now as much credited by Whitelocke as att other times.

The queen sent the master of the ceremonies to White- ^{16.}
 locke to invite him this evening to a ball att court, which
 was ordained in favour of the compte de Montecuculi. White-
 locke, being ready to intertaine all opportunities of waiting
 on the queen, came to the roome appointed, where two
 seats were placed on the right hand of the chayre of state,
 the first for Whitelocke, and the next for Montecuculi.

By this meanes Whitelocke had the opportunity that the
 queen would discourse with him att this time : she was pleased
 to mention to him the ship brought into Dover, wherof the
 syndick of Gothenbergh complained, and the imprisonment
 of the marriners ; which, the queen said, was no friendly
 dealing.



Whitelocke answered, that he could not believe this re-
 port, butt supposed there was some mistake or misinforma-
 tion in it ; that her subjects seldome came to Dover ; that if
 any of them were brought thither by capers, they would
 have

1653. have justice done them in England: he said also, that he understood some great lords in this kingdome had shares in that ship, and made complaints, as they were informed; that he had heard that the master of that ship was a Hollander, and her lading of contraband goods, wheruppon she might be taken by a caper: butt if it should be made appear that the ship belonged to her majesty's subjects, and had done nothing contrary to the known rules of state of the councill of England, he did not doubt butt that she would be freed; and that this week he would write to the commonwealth in England very effectually about this matter; which the queen desired him to doe, and sayd, that if such things were practised, it would be impossible to agree so well uppon a peace between the two nations. By many of these passages which were blown up by the Dutch, Danes, and French in this court, Whitelocke was putt to many difficulties; butt God brought him over all of them in the conclusion.

Att this balle there was rare musick, and excellent dauncing by the queen herselfe, and by her ladyes and courtiers; in the latter end wherof, the queen called for Montecuculi to come to her, where she invested him with the order of knighthood of Amaranta, which ceremony was thus performed.

The compte, kneeling down before the queen, held up his hands between the queen's hands: she declared his duety in that order, to maintaine and defend virtue, and the honor of virtuous ladyes, to indeavour to correct vice, to performe honorable actions, to keep his faith inviolable, with divers the like matters relating to honor and virtuous performances; which the compte promised to observe.

Then

Then the queen putt upon his right shoulder, and tyed 1653.
 under his left arme, a scarfe of crimson taffata, with a  Feb. 16.
 broade silver fringe; and the jewell of the order hunge in
 the scarfe, which was about the compasse of halfe a crown :
 it was made of gould, a rownd wreath wrought and enam-
 melled like to lawrell, and in the midst therof two great
 A A thus reverfed , sett thicke with diamonds, the two
 A A for the first and last letters of Amaranta; and about the
 wreathe was written in Italian, *dulchi nella memoria*, sweet
 is the memory, that is, of a certain noble and famous great
 lady named Amaranta, who was an eminent pattern and
 example of the highest honor and virtue, in memory of
 whom this order was instituted.

The queen herselfe is soveraigne of the order; the com-
 panions of it made by her were the prince Palatin, and his
 brother prince Adolphe, the king of Poland, the duke of
 Brandenburgh, the Landtsgrave of Hesse, the Spanish re-
 sident, the compte de Montecuculi, and divers other great
 lords; and afterwards, Whitelocke was honored also by the
 queen to be made a knight of this order.

Her majesty weares the jewell of the order under her left
 breast, tyed with crimson ribon; and the knights weare it in
 a crimson scarfe or ribon, and sometimes in a chayne of
 gold, as they themselves please.

Thurloe's letters to Whitelocke this post contained the 17.
 probability of an agreement with the Dutch, the gallant
 english fleet already on the sea, the beating of the Scots and
 Highlanders, the approbation and generall satisfaction by
 the late change in England, and the application of all forein
 ministers to the protector, and congratulating of him; only
 Bonele had omitted it.

Hb.

1653. He sent him also the french and spanish newes, and a full
and perfect history of that time ; inclosed coppies of the
 Feb. 17. letters of the dutch resident from hence to his superiors,
 which, by money, Thurloe procured : and in them was some
 reflection uppon Whitelocke, which, in his answear to
 Thurloe's letters, he thus vindicated.

Beningen is much mistaken in his information to his superiors concerning me ; and his expressions are hardly civill. I have been wary of my discourse, and said nothing but what is trueth, though he is pleased to call it false ; and I believe (as it is) it hath the reputation of trueth heer. What my speech was to the queen, you see by the words of it, and that there are no such things as he reports to be found there. Many heard me, though I thought not fitt to speake in that presence so lowd as men doe in a theater, or att a barre of justice ; that those heard me to whom it was directed, appears by the answear to it. All heer say that my reception was with more respect, then hath bin showed to any ambassador before ; and many gentlemen were seen then on horse-backe, though Beningen reports, not one.

For the discontent of the ricks senators, I confesse my neglect of them was purposely done by me, bicause I observed a neglect in them first towards me in point of ceremony ; wherof I judged myselfe bound to take notice, and not to lessen the honor of my nation : this, with my refusall of healths, might possibly bring me to more disfavour with them.

He is likewise mistaken about my sending to the french resident, and inquiry of the Denmarke ambassador, as he useth to be. It is true that there have bin some passages of ceremony, which I thought my duety to insist uppon, as the
 not

not giving precedence to the ricks admirall heer, and to fitt 1653.
 next the queen, and the like, which are now rectified by ^{Feb. 17.}
 the queen's commaund, who was acquainted heerwith by
 the spanish resident, to whom Whitelocke discoursed it to
 that end: and I may presume, that if I should have fate
 down cheaply in any smalle neglect, greater might perhaps
 have bin putt uppon me, and the honor of my nation have
 suffered in me; and both my buisnes and myselfe have bin
 the lesse regarded.

Whitelocke was not well in health, and very buisy in his
 dispatches to England, yett was interrupted therin by a visit
 by Grave Eric Oxenstierne, president of the councell of
 trade, who came in their name to Whitelocke, to informe
 him of the ship mentioned before to be carryed into Dover;
 and by the queen's commaund, Grave Eric showed White-
 locke the letters from Bonele, and from the masters of three
 swedish ships lately brought into England, two of them by
 private men of war, and the others by a ship of the states;
 that some of the marriners were imprisoned, and very ill
 treated; and that this was in the channell, when they were
 past the way to Holland; that they had certificates (as the
 trueth was) that they were Swedes' ships and goods, and the
 men the queen's subjects; that neverthelesse they were thus
 used, which (he said) gave smalle hopes of that amity be-
 tween the two nations, and the redresse of those injuries
 which was hoped for, uppon Whitelocke's coming hither as
 ambassador.

Whitelocke desired him to suspend his judgement till the
 certainty of the fact, and the proceedings theruppon might
 appeare; that he knew the queen's subjects would receive
 right, and offices of friendship, att the hands of the pro-
 tector; and if any private man of war had injured any of

1653. the Swedes, that justice would be done upon them ; and if
 Feb. 17. any ships were taken contrary to right, they would be released : butt if any of the queen's subjects did seek to colour and protect the ennemies ships and goods, that would give little hopes of amity, and they might justly suffer for it.

The Grave was very high and passionate in his expressions, which Whitelocke sought to moderate, butt with a vindication of the justice of England.

The conclusion was, to pray Whitelocke to write effectually to England about it ; which he did, and desired Thurloe's speciall care therein, being a great trouble to him, that such things should be done to Swedes, whilest he was in Sweden, and therby his buisnes be retarded, and himselfe disabled in their service.

One of the queen's servants brought from the queen to Whitelocke's house, two men and two women of Lapland, such as are before described ; and they had with them twenty-five rayne deer, which the queen sent to Whitelocke for a present, and (as he supposed) to the end that he should send them to the protector.

Whitelocke tooke the best care he could for the keeping of these deer ; he gave money to the lappes for their pains in bringing them ; and, by advice of the queen's servant that came with them, he caused the deer to be driven to a farne not farre from Upsale, and gave money for their keeping, with hay and strawe ; butt the deer hardly would eate such meate. Whitelocke desired the queen's servant, who spake the lap language and the french also, to aske the lappes what meate the deer must be fedde with all ; they said, with mosse, and with the toppes of firre boughs, and that
 this

this was their food in Lapland all the winter time. White- 1653.
locke caused them to be asked if they would undertake to ^{Feb. 17.}
carry the deer into England, and he would provide a ship
for them to goe thither with the deer, and to bring them and
their wives back agayne, and would give them fifty ricks
dollers a-piece for their voyage. Butt they all howled, and
earnestly said they would not goe : Whitelocke caused many
arguments to be used to perswade them to goe ; how kindly
they should be used, what a brave countrey, and people,
and cittyes they should see, and have their charges borne,
and returne home rich ; butt all would not move them to
depart out of their beloved countrey. And when they
could not be prevayled with (so great is native love !) White-
locke contracted with them to take the charge of his deer
heer, untill he could send them into England, to which
they agreed : butt one night, the deer being altogether in
an open hovell, not farre from the side of a great wood,
there came out from the wood a herd of many fierce
woolves, who, finding out the deer, fell uppon them, and
in one night killed fifteen of them : the rest of the deer,
not long after, all dyed, as their keepers said, bicause the
climate was too hot for them ; and so Whitelocke was dis-
appointed of sending his rare present to England, where
the deere would hardly have lived, when Sweden was too hot
for them.

Piementelle visited Whitelocke, and they communicated 18.
their intelligence : he showed Whitelocke the letter which
Beningen had written from hence to his superiors (wherof
Whitelocke also had a copy) and is before remembered.
Whitelocke told Piementelle, that the language of Beningen
was scarce civill, and very untrue ; Piementelle replied, that
that was the mode of Holland to have such uncivill ex-
pressions, and that Beningen was no gentleman, nor did

K k k 2

know

1653. know what belonged to matter of honor. Whitelocke said,
 Feb. 18. that as Beningen and the resident of France did concenter
 together against England and Spayne, so it was prudent for
 Piementelle and him to assist one another in order for the
 better carrying on of both their affayres; which Piementelle
 said was very reasonable, and he would most willingly doe
 it, and believed that they two should make a party strong
 enough against those gentlemen.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke went to the castle to waite
 on the queen; no person was in the antichamber butt Sir
 William Ballendin, who, seeing Whitelocke, went in to the
 queen (being her servant) and returning, would neither
 looke on Whitelocke, nor speake to him, butt said to White-
 locke's eldest son standing by, he may goe in to the queen if
 he will; the young man made no answear, nor told his father
 of it, who (although he imagined what the buisnes was) yett
 did forbear to take any notice of it, since Ballendine
 thought him unworthy to be spoken to: then Ballendin spake
 the same words, as he had done to the son, to one of White-
 locke's followers, that knew him not, and therefore told
 Whitelocke what was said to him; who theruppon thought
 it better to goe to the queen then to make her stay longer
 for him, and so followed Ballendin; and Mr. Stapleton,
 fearing lest some mischiefe might be done to Whitelocke in
 the passage, went after him, entering into the queen's cham-
 ber. Ballendin held up the hanging, and, just as Whitelocke
 entered, lett it fall in his face, as he believed, purposely,
 wherof the queen taking notice, reproved Ballendin for it;
 in whose hearing Whitelocke told the queen, that he believed
 that gentleman had no mind to doe him a favour, and asked
 the queen's pardon, that he came into her bed-chamber
 without being sent for: the queen said, I sent Ballendin;
 did not he come and tell you? Whitelocke replied, he did
 not

not thinke me worthy to be spoken to, butt told one of my 1653.
followers that I might come in ; att which the queen seem-
ed very angry, and said, Ballendin is a fott and a foole. Feb. 18.

Whitelocke gave her majesty thanks for the noble present of rayne deer, which she was pleased to bestow on him, which he told her, he purposed to send to the protector ; butt she answered, that they were not worth the sending.

Whitelocke then told her majesty, that he must take his leave of her and returne for England : she asked him why he spake so ? he replied, that it was the common report, that her majesty had proposed to her councill to quitt the crown, and then what should he doe heer ? They had much discourse together uppon that subject, and the queen seemed resolute in this design ; butt told Whietlocke, that whatsoever she should determine in that point, yett she would dispatch his buisnes, and that therefore he needed not to goe away till that were done, and she hoped it would be to his contentment.

She told Whitelocke that she intended to goe out of town the next weeke to meet the prince of Sweden, and would speake with him about Whitelocke's buisnes. Whitelocke communicated to her his newes of Scotland, of the english fleet att sea, of the dutch treaty, and other newes ; butt stayed not long with her, bicause she was not well.

From the castle, Whitelocke went to Woolfeldt, who discoursed about the queen's resignation, and said, he believed she was strongly inclined to it : Whitelocke objected the uncertainty of her revenue if she resigned, that her successors might not have due care to see it paid ; he said, she would provide for that before hand, and have it in her own power,
which

1653. which Whitelocke had advised her to. He said, that he believed the revenues of this crown were much lessened, and he doubted whither they would suffice for her intertainment, and for the expences of her successors also: Woolfeldt answered, that this was the great objection which troubled the council to find out a way how the queen might be supplied; and at the same time to defray the charges of the armies, and navy, and of the court, and other publique charges; and that it would require much time before these things were brought to a conclusion.

19. This *Lord's day*, Sir George Fletewood, colonel Hamilton, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Cooper, English and Scotts men, came in the morning to Whitelocke's house to heare the sermon there: and, after dinner, the master of the ceremonies came to informe Whitelocke of the funerall of a swedish gentleman, named Monsieur Pos, of an antient family, who dyed young, and a batchelor; the solemnity came by Whitelocke's doore, and was in this order. First came the singing boyes and men of the church, singing requiem as they went; after them came a man on horse-back, the horse richly covered with caparisons imbroidered with gold, with a front piece of iron gilded, the man all armed as a curiasseer, the armor gilt, holding a naked sword in his hand, with the point towards his breast; after him followed two persons in mourning, leading a horse covered to the ground with blacke cloth, and a white crosse in the middle; then came a gentleman bearing the standard, having the armes of the deceased; after him came the corps, covered with blacke cloth, carryed by sixe persons in mourning, and on each side of it eight persons carrying banners, with the armes of the father and mother, and of the grandfather and grand-mother on the father's side, and of their auncestors

auncestors to the sixt degree, which is allowed att the fune- 1653.
ralls of every gentleman, and of an earle they allow thirty-
two. Feb. 19

After the corps, followed a man leading another horse covered to the ground ; then came the kindred of the gentleman, among whom was the chancellor, and divers others of quality, all on foote, about forty or fifty. After them followed his mother and sisters, and other women of his kindred, all covered with white linnen over their other clothes, every one of them led by a gentleman in mourning ; and though the streets were very dirty, and their robes very long, and white, yett they did not hold them up, butt were pittifully moyled with the solemnity. After them followed on foot many other women.

They had about twelve coaches, one of the queen's, and another of the gentleman's mother, with six horses, and many sleddes : they were all to returne att night to the mother of the deceased, who was to feast all the company att supper, after the custome of this countrey, who are extremely ceremonious, and very expensive in matters of this nature ; esteeming it a necessary duety, with the greatest solemnity that the quality of the dead person will beare, to interre his corps, and to make great feasting and banquetting to those who accompany the buryall ; and that sometimes for a whole weeke together.

The queen having done Whitelocke the honor to be his 20.
valentine, and to give him leave to weare her name in his hatt, he (according to the english custome of presenting their valentines) sent unto the queen a very large looking glasse, which he brought hither with him, and was much greater then any he saw heer ; and the queen accepted it,
much

1653. much praying the english custome, and thanking Whitelocke for his noble present.
 Feb. 20.

Whitelocke visited Grave Eric Oxenstierne, who discoursed with him concerning Ballendin, and excused his carriage; and that the falling of the tapistry was by accident, and not done of purpose, and he intreated Whitelocke to excuse it.

Whitelocke said, that Ballendin's former carriage showed that he lett fall the tapistry of purpose to affront him; butt they past it over, and Whitelocke communicated to the Grave part of a letter which he had received from his brother Willson; that he had bin with the judges of the admiralty, whom he found very ready to dispatch those affayres which concerned the Swedes: and he now being entered into the discourse of the swedish ships taken prize by the English, Grave Eric changed his language from french to latin, highly aggravating that fact; and that it seemed strange to the Swedes, that so much injury should be done to them by their friends, and especially while their ambassador was heer; and that this would be a great hinderance to the amity to be made between the two nations.

Whitelocke answered him as formerly, desiring him not to give judgement against England till he knew the fact, and wheresoever the wrong was, he hoped right would be done; and told him, that the last week he had written to England about this buisnes, and doubted not butt that just satisfaction would be given heerin: and Whitelocke, being a little more high then ordinary, kept this Grave in the better temper, who said, that Whitelocke had done very well in writing thus to England. Whitelocke said, he did it the rather bicause he believed, that his excellence, and others
 of

of his good friends in this court, were perticularly concern-
ed touching these prizes; att the which Grave Eric seemed
to smile, butt made no answere.

1653.
Feb. 20.

This was too true, and occasioned much the more trouble
to Whitelocke in the matter of prizes, and of swedish ships
and goods, taken by the english during the dutch war;
butt, through mercy, he weathered this point also, and
gott off from this and severall other rockes.

Then they fell into discourse touching the trade into the
northerne parts; some of which discourse followes.

Er. It would be of great advantage to both nations; if a
staple of the english commodities were erected, one att Go-
thenbergh, and another att Narva, wherby the English
might injoy, not only the commodities of Sweden, butt
likewise of Muscovia; the cittyes of Narva and Revel being
so conveniently seated, that the commodities of Muscovia
might very easily be brought thither.

Wh. The frozen sea is now a great hinderance to the
trade of Muscovia; butt, this way, that inconvenience will
be much remedied, and the commodities of other coun-
tryes, adjoyning to Muscovia, may be brought in likewise.

Er. Muscovia, on the one side, is bounded with the fro-
zen sea, on the other side with Persia, Tartana, and Polo-
nia, and towards the Baltick sea, with Ingria and Livonia;
the commodities of all which countryes may be brought into
the staples.

1653. *Wh.* What distance are the cittyes of Narva and Revel
 ~~~~~ one from the other? and which of them is the more conve-  
 Feb. 20. nient haven?

*Er.* Revel is in Ingria, and Narva is in Livonia; Narva, for two or three moneths in the year, cannot be frequented by reason of the ice; butt is much the more commodious to receive the wares of Russia, as well by land as by water, and, in the winter time, it is the more convenient to transport commodities thither by sleds. Revel is thirty miles distant from Narva, and the merchants may apply to this port att any time of the yeare, without any hinderance by the ice.

*Wh.* Why then is not that, without comparisn, the better place for a staple?

*Er.* Bicause the commodities are not so easily, or so cheape brought thither as to Narva. How is the correspondence, att this time, betwixt your common-wealth and the Great Duke?

*Wh.* It is not now uppon so good termes as formerly; therin the Hollanders have supplanted us, as is usuall with them when their profit is concerned: and we have found the Great Duke to be offended with the English, by reason of the proceedings of our common-wealth against the late king.

*Er.* That is very probable to be so; and the Muscoviers are such a sort of men, that what seems reasonable to all other people of Europe, seems contrary to them.

*Wh.*

*Wh.* You were a neighbor to them many years, when you were governor of Revel, and therefore know their condition the better. 1653.  
Feb. 20.

*Er.* I was many years governor of that city and of all Ingria, and thereby had frequent conversation with them, and took notice of their conditions; but I hope I have not practised any of them.

*Wh.* I presume that as you have seen their manners, so you have disdained them. I have heard that the payments and tolles in these countries are greater then elsewhere, which is to the prejudice of your trade, and discouragement of a staple there.

*Er.* They are somewhat high there, but are now lower then they have bin formerly; whereby we find, nevertheless, that the queen's treasury is increased.

Much other discourse they had on this subject, whereby the Grave manifested his abilities and experience in these matters.

Notice was given to Whitelocke by his friends from England, of severall designs against his life, and undertakings by some to assassinate him: a Scotsman, who came in one of Whitelocke's ships the sea voyage, and travayled in his company most part of the land journey, did in a manner confesse himselfe to be one of the number ingaged to murder him; but this man ranne away before he could be apprehended. 21.

The enemies of the common-wealth in this place made divers assaults and attempts uppon Whitelocke's servants;

1653. when any of them were abroad late, or few in company,  
 many rencounters and skirmishes were between them; and  
 Feb. 21. alwayes his people defendants, and the assaylants wounded  
 and ashamed.

This night (as frequently before) a great number of people, some drunke, and others enemies, joyned together, came to Whitelocke's doore with naked swords in their hands, making a lowd noyse, and crying, Come out ye english dogges, ye king-killers, base roages, and the like complements.

Whereuppon one of Whitelocke's servants, that was upon the guard that night, discharged a pistoll out of the window, uppon which they ran away; butt returning agayne with the like cryes, attempted to force open the doore, butt it was too strong for them: some of Whitelocke's people, eager to have a crash with them, would have opened the doore and gone out to them; butt Whitelocke would not permit it, and ordered them to stand uppon their guard, as he putt them in a readines, butt not to goe forth to assault the assaylants; yett, if they should breake into the house, not to spare any of them in defence of it, and of himselfe, who would be in the head of them; and after some time and breath spent by these roagers, they parted.

Mr. Ravius informed Whitelocke, that senator Scute, publicquely att dinner, spake many unworthy expressions of the english nation, and of their present condition; that they, pretending to pull down one tyrant, had sett up another; and he believed, that in a short time they would fall into confusion, and that a treaty with them would be of no advantage to Sweden.

That

That the king's party in Scotland began to be victorious, 1653. and that the king; with the assistance of the french, and other foreign forces, and of his own party (by much the greater) in England, would quickly pull down their new government, and punish the authors of it; and that the english ambassador cared not how long they delayed him heer, bicause he was therby free from the daungers att home. Feb. 21.

Ravius, att the table, answered, that he believed the english ambassador did not intend to stay long heer, and esteemed the buisnes about which he came hither equally as good for Sweden as England; that probably he would hasten his returne home, where he had buisnes enough; and for the present government there, he thought it better and, firmer then it had been in many ages before, being now in a pious, prudent, valiant, fortunate man, to whom the neighbor princes sought for his alliance. Att the end of a long discourse, the senator was not so severe, nor positive against the treaty, as att first, butt said he would give a visit to the ambassador.

This senator had lesse reason then others to speak against England, his father having bin ambassador there, and honored with the order of the garter; butt Whitelocke did not much weigh the discourses, or other opinions of the senators in these matters, in regard the queen had reserved the determination of them to herselfe.

The queen went to Westraas to conferre with the prince 22. about the buisnes of her abdication, and (some thought) also about the present treaty with Whitelocke.

Captain

1653. Captain Croke, Whitelocke's kinsman, and one of his  
 Feb. 22. gentlemen, chose for his valentine Mnr. Woolfeldt's lady,  
 and sent her a present of english filke stockins and gloves,  
 which she tooke so well, that, he going to waite on her as  
 his valentine, she treated him with great respect, and gave  
 him a ringe sett with a fayre ruby, and fixe little diamonds  
 about it, of the value of 80 l. a present fitt for a lady to  
 give, who was the daughter and sister of a king.

The secretary Canterstein, and the Custos Archivorum,  
 and severall other officers and gentlemen, honored White-  
 locke to dine with him, and were pleased with their inter-  
 tainment: most of their discourse was matter of learning,  
 and perticularly of english authors, as Selden, Milton, the  
 viscount of St. Albans, and others, whom they much ad-  
 mired and commended; and Whitelocke was not wanting,  
 or uncapable, to give a full account of them.

Sir George Fletewood informed Whitelocke, that he had  
 spoken with Ballendin about the affront which he putt  
 upon Whitelocke, and told him plainly of it; and that  
 Ballendin, with many asseverations, denyed that ever he  
 had the least intention to offer any incivility to Whitelocke  
 or any of his company, butt was ready to doe them all  
 service: that the reason why he did not speake to White-  
 locke to goe in to the queen was, bicause he saw him buisy  
 with one of his secretaries in the window, and therefore  
 would not interrupt him, butt spake to one of his sons;  
 and that the hanging fell down by accident, and prayed  
 Whitelocke to pardon it.

Fletewood told Whitelocke also, that, being with the chan-  
 cellor, he spake of it, and much condemned Ballendin,  
 and said, that Whitelocke might undoe him if he should

complain of it to the queen; butt he thought it more honorable for Whitelocke to passe it over, and forgive this foolish action, which the chancellor prayed him to doe; and being, Ballendin denyed any intention of doing Whitelocke an affront, and desired his pardon, he thought it best to take it for a satisfaction, and told Sir George Fletewood, that it being the advice of his father the chancellor, and of his son Grave Eric, and of him, to any of whom he could not deny a farre greater matter, he did freely passe by this carriage of Ballendine, and did forget it; which being told Ballendin, he seemed very glad of it, by healthing to the ambassador.

1653.  
Feb. 22.

Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who told him, that the queen persisted in her purpose of abdication.

Intelligence was given to Whitelocke, that the resident of the duke of Brandenburg had written from London to a correspondent of his in this place, that the agent of the Switzes was dismissed by the protector with more honor at his departure, then was afforded to Mnr. Lagerfeldt at his returne from England; and these things were heer spread abroad purposely to disturbe Whitelocke's negotiation; butt he thought best to take little notice of them.

Many of Whitelocke's company had observed strange appearances in the skye, exceeding brightnes in the night, mingled with various colours, chiefly redde, and swiftly passing from one part of the heavens to another, and one colour, as it were, opposing and incountring the other.

This evening, with his company, Whitelocke himselfe, about nine a'clocke, saw the skye extended in a thick blacknes, and yett transparent in most places; so that the starres appeared

1653. appeared there more cleer and large then in that part of the  
 Feb. 23. skye which was white: there was no wind stirring, and the  
 heavens seemed calme and settled; when, on a suddain,  
 there were motions towards the north-east, and towards the  
 north, with great lightnings, and fearfull thunder clappes  
 through fogges directing towards the north starre, which  
 appeared extraordinary fayre through a blacke clowde.

The flashes of lightening and clowdes came swiftly one  
 against another, as it were in charging, and made breaches  
 where they went, and divided themselves as into bodyes of  
 pikes and musketiers: then the skye appeared sometime all  
 of bloud colour, afterwards green, yellow, and grey, then  
 all blacke, and as it were a new battaile from the north to  
 the south, and the contrary, in a strange manner, and to  
 the amazement of the beholders, who gave their censures  
 and predictions of it, according to their severall fancies.

No letters from England came this week by the post,  
 which Mr. Bradeshaw, resident att Hambourgh, certefyed  
 to Earle, Whitelocke's secretary.

24. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the chancellor to  
 appoint a meeting; butt Whitelocke would not have it att  
 his house, bicause the chancellor had bin there often, butt  
 he went to the chancellor's lodging, where they were two  
 howers together in generall discourses of severall natures.

The chancellor spake much of the buisnes of Scotland,  
 and of the daunger therby to England; wherein he had  
 taken many things uppon trust, and which were greatly  
 mistaken: butt Whitelocke informed him the trueth of that  
 buisnes, and showed him his letters of it; which gave him  
 satisfaction, that his intelligence was mistaken.

He

He desired to know the heads of the treaty with Holland, 1653. and how farre they were agreed uppon, and showed Whitelocke a printed copy of them from Holland; most wherof <sup>Feb. 24.</sup> was right, butt in some perticulars mistaken, which Whitelocke rectified.

They had a little discourse about the queen's abdication, and he seemed troubled att it : Whitelocke told him, that he had a purpose himselfe of retirement before he came out of England ; the chancellor said, he liked it not in Whitelocke, and much lesse in the queen.

When Whitelocke mentioned the buisnes of his treaty, the chancellor would not come to perticulars theruppon, butt still putt it off, and fell uppon some other discourse ; being desirous to know the issue of the treaty between England and Holland, before any further proceedings in the treaty heer.

The chancellor inquired (having bin told of it before) what discourse Whitelocke had with the archbishop of Upsale ; Whitelocke told him of their discourse touching the Lord's day, and of the miserable prophanation of it heer : the chancellor said, that it was proper discourse with the archbishop, and that he did agree to Whitelocke's opinion heerin ; and hoped that it would be brought to passe in time, that there should be a reformation of that abuse.

Whitelocke then told the chancellor the discourse between the archbishop and him, about the bestowing of ecclesiasticall promotions ; and that the archbishop wondred, when Whitelocke told him, that he, as a keeper of the great seale, or chancellor of England, and his colleagues, although lay-men, yett, in right of the common-wealth, as



1653. patrons of the ecclesiasticall benefices, did conferre many  
 of them uppon such clerkes as they judged fitt and able  
 Feb. 24. for the worke of the ministry ; and that no other had a  
 power of examining the fittnes of the persons thus presented  
 by them, or of contradicting those presentations, though  
 none of his colleagues, nor himfelfe, were, as they terme  
 it, in holy orders.

This, the chancellor faid, was a point wherin he was  
 concerned, and had a question with the archbifhop about  
 it, in the right of his being chancellor ; and he fayd, he was  
 glad that Whitelocke had this difcourfe with the archbifhop,  
 and hoped that it would be to the chancellor's advantage.

25. Piementelle vifited Whitelocke, and told him, that he  
 had received letters from Don Alonfo de Cardenas, ambaf-  
 fador for the king of Spayne in England, whereby he de-  
 fired Piementelle to teftify all refpect from him to White-  
 locke, and to offer him his fervice, with many other com-  
 plements ; for which Whitelocke intreated him to make re-  
 turne of his thankes and fervice.

He alfo acquainted Whitelocke, that the king of Spayne,  
 his mafter, had commaunded his returne home, and that  
 his intention was to depart from hence as foon as he could  
 conveniently ; and he hoped to take his leave within a few  
 weekes, if he could poffibly. Whitelocke told him, he  
 fhould be very forry to loofe his good company ; butt glad  
 for the fatisfaction of Piementelle's defires : they communi-  
 cated newes to one another, and fo parted.

26. Piementelle fent to Whitelocke, by his fecretary, the  
 copy of a letter which the queen wrote to Chanut, now  
 ambaffador from the king of France, and formerly ambaffa-  
 dor


dor to this queen: it was in answear of a letter, which 1653.  
 Chanut had written to the queen, to dissuade her from her purpose of abdication. Feb. 26.

The english of the whole letter is thus \* :

\* See ap-  
 pendix  
 H.

“ I have formerly given you an account of the reasons  
 “ which oblige me to persevere in the designe of my abdi-  
 “ cation ; you know that this fancy hath continued with  
 “ me a long time, and that it hath not bin without confi-  
 “ deration : eight years since I resolved to putt it in exe-  
 “ cution ; it is, att least, five years since I communicated  
 “ unto you this resolution ; in so long a time all the inci-  
 “ dents have not caused me to change. I have ordered all  
 “ my actions to this end, and have so conducted them,  
 “ without weighing, to this hower, more then my readi-  
 “ nes to finish my act, and to retire behind the stage, and  
 “ trouble not myselfe about the plaudite. I know that  
 “ the scene, which I have represented, is not according to  
 “ the common lawes of the theater. I permit every one to  
 “ judge according to his genius ; I cannot take away this  
 “ liberty, and would not if it were in my power. I know  
 “ there are few that judge favourably ; I assure myselfe  
 “ that you are of that number : other men know not my  
 “ reasons and humor, since I never declared this to any  
 “ person butt yourselfe and one more, who hath a soul  
 “ great and fayre enough to judge therof, as you have.  
 “ Satis est unus, satis est nullus ; I mocke att the rest, and  
 “ shall doe the honor to him of the troupe, whom I shall  
 “ esteem sufficiently ridiculous to divert me, and never  
 “ take the paines to make my apology to them ; and in the  
 “ great leisure which I prepare for myselfe, I shall never  
 “ be idle enough to remember them. I shall imploy that  
 “ leisure to examine my past life, to correct my errors,  
 M m m 2 “ without

1653. " without repenting the pleasure I have taken in doing  
 Feb. 26. " good to men, and to have punished those that deserved  
 " it. I shall have the comfort, that I never made any cri-  
 " minous that were not so, nor spared any that were so.  
 " I have preferred the conservation of the state before all  
 " other considerations, and have sacrificed all with joy to  
 " the interest therof: and have nothing to reproach me in  
 " that administration, which I possess without pride, and  
 " quit with facility. Feare not for me; I am in safety, and  
 " my good is not in the power of fortune: I shall be happy  
 " whatsoever may fall out; only God hath power over  
 " me, not men, nor never shall. I apprehend, that this  
 " Providence wherof you speake, omnia sunt propitia, will  
 " take the care to order my affayres; I submit myselfe with  
 " that respect and resignation as I ought to her will: if it  
 " leave the conduct of my affayres to myselfe, I shall im-  
 " ploy what she gives me of faculties in my soul, and un-  
 " derstanding, to render myselfe happy; and I shall be so,  
 " as far as I shall be perswaded, that I ought to feare no-  
 " thing either from men, or from God. I shall imploy the  
 " rest of my life to familiarize these thoughts, and from the  
 " harbour to behold the stormes of those who are tossed  
 " in this life with the tempests, which they heere suffer, for  
 " want of applying their minds to these thoughts. Am I  
 " not worthy of envy in my present estate? doubtless, I  
 " should have too many envying me if my happynes were  
 " knowne. You have affection enough for me not to envy  
 " me; and I deserve it, since I ingeniously confesse, that  
 " I had some of these thoughts from you, and learnt them  
 " in your conversation, and hope one day to improve them  
 " in my leisure with you: I assure myselfe you cannot  
 " breake your word, and that you will not cease to be my  
 " friend in this change, since I quit nothing which is  
 " worthy your esteeme; in what condition soever I shall  
 " be,

“ be, I shall conserve my friendship to you, and you will 1653.  
 “ fee, that no change can happen which can alter my  Feb. 26.  
 “ thoughts, wherof I glory. You know all this, and doubt-  
 “ les you believe, that the greatestt assurance I can give  
 “ you of myselfe, is to tell you that I shall ever be

“ CHRISTINE.”

The queen returned from Westraas, where she met the prince, and conferred with him.

Whitelocke waited on the queen to bid her wellcome in 27.  
 her returne from Westraas ; she spake nothing of her abdi-  
 cation to Whitelocke, nor did he think fitt to mention  
 it to her : they had much discourse touching the treaty,  
 and she againe promised, that it should be expedited in a  
 short time after the certainty should be known of the con-  
 clusion of the dutch treaty ; which, she said, some did re-  
 port that it was agreed, and others, that it was broken of,  
 butt that she would believe no intelligence butt White-  
 locke's.

She inquired of him touching the buifnes of the high-  
 landers in Scotland, and of the defeate which was reported  
 they had given the English ; and asked Whitelocke, if he  
 had not heard of it ? he said, nothing was mentioned of it  
 in his letters ; and that there was the lesse reason to believe  
 it, bicause it was reported, that the Highlanders had pur-  
 sued the English as farre as the town of Newcastle, which  
 is above 100 miles from them, into England.

The queen told Whitelocke, that she had understood,  
 that the king of Scotts was come to Breda, or neer ther-  
 abouts, to some place in the united provinces to receive  
 assistance

1653. assistance from them, and to be in a readines uppon the  
 Feb. 27. coast to transport himselfe for England or Scotland, as his  
 affayres should require ; and that he would soon be landed  
 on our side, when he should see a fitt opportunity for it.

Whitelocke said, that the english fleet would be ready to  
 attend uppon him in his voyage, and some good fellowes  
 would be ready to intertaine him, and his company, att  
 their landing. Of this intelligence Whitelocke thought fitt  
 to give notice to the councell in England.

Att this conference, the queen discourfed with White-  
 locke concerning Spayne, and said, she thought it would  
 be of great advantage, both to Sweden and England, to  
 have an alliance together with Spayne ; and she asked  
 Whitelocke, if he would treate about it.

He answered, that he had no commission concerning a  
 treaty about Spayne ; and that he had heard out of Eng-  
 land, that the spanish ambassador there had begun a treaty  
 of alliance with England, and that the protector had ap-  
 pointed some commissioners to treat with him uppon that  
 subject.

The queen replied, that it would be good to have all  
 the three nations comprehended in one treaty of alliance,  
 which would be to the mutuall advantage of them all ; and  
 that she would send an ambassador into England, by whom  
 it might be effected.

Whitelocke said, he was of the same opinion as to the  
 mutuall advantage of the three nations by such a treaty, in  
 regard of the addition of strength, and increase of trade,  
 which thereby would come to all of them ; and that he be-  
 lieved,

lieved, the generous disposition of those three nations had much of affinity to one another, which would make such a treaty of the greater force, and more durable. 1653.  
Feb. 27.


The queen said, that was a great argument to rayse those thoughts which she had of it; and desired Whitelocke to further it what he could.

He replied, that he could not yett tell what would be the issue of the treaty already begun in England with the spanish ambassador, and that he apprehended, it would be best first to conclude the treaty heer between England and Sweden; and, afterwards, if both these nations did see it fitt, the Spanyard might be taken in as there should be cause, wherunto the conclusion of the treaty heer would be a furtherance.

The queen said, that was true; and desired Whitelocke to acquaint the protector with her opinion heerin, which he promised her majesty to doe.

Then the queen discoursed with Whitelocke about the english plantations and territories in America, of which he gave her majesty a full account, as to the Caribee islands, Virginia, New-England, Maryland, and that of his brother-in-law, the lord Willoughby, in Surinam, wherof they had much discourse; and the queen seemed to wonder, that the English should have so many and so large territories in those remote parts of the world. Whitelocke told her the occasions and successes of those discoveries and plantations, and, with them, mentioned the trade of the English in Guinee, for gould, and the forts which they had made and kept there.

Then

1653. Then the queen told Whitelocke, under secrecy, that  some of her people had a footing in Guinee, and that she  
 Feb. 27. had a purpose of buying in a priviledge, which she had  
 graunted to some of her subjects concerning trade to Guinee,  
 which would be very beneficiall; and that if any in England  
 would buy her right there, she would be willing to part  
 with it.

Whitelocke offered, that, if her majesty pleased, he would  
 write to the Guinee company of marchants, and to others  
 in London, about this matter, and give her an answear  
 therunto; which she desired him to doe, and said, that, if  
 any would deale for it, they should have a good bar-  
 gain.

Whitelocke then told the queen (as seasonable uppon  
 this occasion) the buisnes which he had in charge, concern-  
 ing the Guinee company in London, and of an injury  
 which her majesty's subjects had done to the English in  
 Guinee; wherein (he said) he presumed that her majesty  
 would cause right and justice to be done.

The queen answered, that was very fitt, and that she  
 could wish, England would take care to hinder the king of  
 Denmarke from the trade of that place; for which, she was  
 informed, that he was now preparing ships to be sent thi-  
 ther, and would indeavour therby the distruction of the  
 interest both of the Swedes and English in that place: she  
 desired Whitelocke to give notice therof to the protector,  
 and to those perticular persons who were concerned in the  
 trade of Guinee, that some course might be taken to pre-  
 vent the prejudice which therby would arise to that plan-  
 tation; and heerin Whitelocke gave notice accordingly.

The

The master of the ceremonies, and severall other persons of quality, doing Whitelocke the honor to dine with him, they had much discourse of the queen's abdication, the generall argument of that time, and of her majesty's journey to Westraas to meet the prince; about which they informed Whitelocke, that the prince did acquiesce in the queen's proposalls touching her resignation, and had remitted the conclusion of the whole matter to an assembly of the estates of this kingdome, who are summoned to meet on the second of May next; butt it might be doubted, whither they would consent to the proposalls: if they did not consent, then it could not be effected; butt if they did consent, then it would be butt short; and that all the great officers, the nobility, and the principall men of the kingdome, had taken an oath of fidelity to the prince, as prince of Sweden, att the coronation of the queen. And they said, they believed, that if the queen should presse it, the estates would obey her; and they observed, that the prince did not returne from Westraas to the isle of Uland, which is a great distance from hence, and where he formerly resided, butt went to a house of his own neer this place, that he might not be farre off, during the assembly of estates, and transaction of this buisnes..



## MARCH.

1653.

March 1.

**N**OW was the heate of Whitelocke's buisnes, and many crosse indeavors used to render all his labours fruitles, and to bring his treaty to no effect. Butt it pleased God (in whome his confidence was placed) to carry him through all his difficulties, and to give his blessing and succeſſe to this negotiation.

Whitelocke gave a viſit to the compte de Montecuculi, to give him the wellcome home from his journey with the queen; who ſaid he had commaunds to kiſſe the hand of the prince of Sweden, and took the opportunity of accompanying her majeſty when ſhe went to meet the prince. He communicated nothing of the buisnes to Whitelocke, nor did he thinke to inquire it of him.

After Whitelocke returned home, the reſident of France and Woolfeldt mett att his houſe to viſit him, and ſtayed with him three howers: they had much diſcourſe of France, and of the duke of Lorraine, and of the policy of the Spanyard in intertaining that duke in his ſervice; by means wherof the countrey, where the duke's ſoldiers were quartered, were better ſatified then with the ſpaniſh forces; ſo that there was no taxe levyed for them, only they tooke free quarter, and ſometimes a contribution uppon the receiving of a new officer. And Woolfeldt ſaid, that, wheras all other princes give wages to their officers and ſoldiers, the duke gives no pay; butt when he makes an officer, the officer pays money to the duke for his commiſſion: and that  
he

he knew a captain of horse who gave 1000 crowns for his commission, which the captain afterward rayfed upon the country; and the duke connived att it. 1653.  
March 1.

He told how he was employed to treat with the duke for the transportation of 5000 foot and 3000 horse into Ireland to assist our king; which the Duke undertooke, on condition to have 100,000 crowns in ready money, and ships to transport his men from some haven in France; none of which could be effected.

After Woolfeldt went away, the french resident asked Whitelocke, whither France were comprised in the treaty with Holland? Whitelocke said, he had no information thereof; the resident replied, that his master would willingly intertaine a good friendship and correspondence with England: and Whitelocke said, he believed England would be ready to doe the like with France. The resident said, he observed by their discourse that Whitelocke had bin in France, and that the late king would have given him the commaund of a troope of horse in France; and he hoped that Whitelocke would retaine a good opinion of that country, and be their friend.

Whitelocke replied, that he was very civilly treated in France, and believed that he should have served the late king there, if, by a sudden accident or misfortune, he had not bin prevented, and obliged to returne for England sooner then he intended; and that he should be alwayes ready (as he held himselfe ingaged) to pay all respects and service to that crown, as farre as might consist with the interest of the common-wealth whom he served.

1653. Notwithstanding his great words against the common-  
wealth and present treaty, yett Monsieur Scute was pleased  
March 2. to afford a visit to Whitelocke, and they fell (amongst many  
other things) uppon the following discourse.

*Sc.* My father was formerly ambassador from this crown,  
in England, where I was with him, which occasioned my  
desire to be known to you.

*Wh.* Your father did honor to this countrey, and to ours,  
in that imployment; and your excellence honors me in this  
visit.

*Sc.* England is the noblest countrey and people that ever  
I saw: a more pleasant, fruitfull, and healthfull countrey,  
and a more gallant, stout, and rich people are not in the  
world.

*Wh.* I perceive you have taken a true measure, both of  
the countrey and her inhabitants.

*Sc.* This is my judgement of it, as well as my affection  
to it.

*Wh.* Your countrey heer is indeed more northerly, butt  
your people, especially the nobility, of a much like honor-  
able condition to ours; which may cause the more wonder  
att her majesty's intention of leaving them, who are so af-  
fectionate to her.

*Sc.* Truly her majesty's purpose of resignation is strange  
to foreiners, and much more to us, who are her subjects,  
most affectionate to her.

*Wh.*

*Wh.* It is reported, that she hath consulted in this buisnes 1653.  
with the senators, wherof you are one.

March 2.

*Sc.* Three senators are deputed to conferre with the prince of Sweden, uppon certain perticulars to be observed in the resignation ; and I hope that your excellence will consider the importance of that affayre, and will therefore attend with the more patience the issue therof, being necessary that the advice of the prince be had in it.

*Wh.* Have the three deputed senators any order to conferre with the prince about my buisnes?

*Sc.* I believe they have.

*Wh.* I have bin heer two moneths before the queen mentioned this designe of hers to the councell, and have stayed heer all this time with patience, and shall so continue as my lord protector shall commaund me ; and as soon as he requires my returne, I shall obey him.

*Sc.* The occasion of the delay hitherto was the incertainty of the issue of your dutch treaty : and att this season of the year it was impossible for you to returne, till the passage be open.

*Wh.* I believe the alliance with England meriteth an acceptance, whither we have peace or war with Holland ; and for my returne, it is att the pleasure of the protector.

They had much other discourse ; and probably Scute was sent purposely to excuse the delay of the treaty, for which he used many arguments, not necessary to be repeated : and he came also to tast Whitelocke, touching advice to be had  
with

1653. with the prince about this treaty ; wherunto Whitelocke  
 showed no averfeneſs.  
 March 2.

Whitelocke received his packet of two weeks from England. In a letter from his wife he was advertiſed, that the protector had ſpoken of his voyage to Sweden, as if Whitelocke had not merited much by it, though he ſo earneſtly perſwaded it : and his wife wrote, that ſhe believed one of Whitelocke's family was falſe to him ; and uppon inquiry, ſhe ſuſpected it to be ——— who gave intelligence to the protector of all Whitelocke's words and actions in Sweden, to his prejudice, and very unbefeeching one of his family. This Whitelocke, comparing with ſome paſſages told him by his ſecretary of the ſame perſon, found there was cauſe enough to ſuſpect him ; yett to have one ſuch among a hundred, he thought no ſtrange thing, nor for the protector to alter his phraſe when his turn was ſerved ; and though this gave ground enough of diſcontent to Whitelocke, yett he thought not fitt to diſcover it, nor what other friends had writt to him, doubting whither he ſhould be honorably dealt with att his returne home : butt he was more troubled to heare of his wife's ſickneſs, for whoſe health and his familie's he made his ſupplication to the great phyſitian ; and that he might be as well pleaſed with a private retirement (if God ſaw it good for him) att his returne home, as the queen ſeemed to be with her deſigne of abdication from the heights and gloryes of a crowne.

Part of the letters to Whitelocke were in cypher, being directions to him touching the Sundt : he had full intelligence of all paſſages of the dutch treaty, and a copy of the articles from Thurloe ; alſo the newes of Scotland, Ireland, France, and the letters from the dutch reſident heer to his ſuperiors in Holland, coppies wherof Thurloe by  
 money

money had procured. He wrote also of the protector's being feasted by the city, and a full and large relation of all passages of moment. 1653. March 2.

The protector himselfe wrote also his letters to Whitelocke under his own hand, which were thus \*.

\* See appendix 1.

*For the Lord Ambassadour WHITELOCKE.*

“ My Lord,

“ I have a good while since received your letters sent by  
 “ the ship that transported you to Gothenbergh, and three  
 “ other dispatches since. By that of the 30th of December, and  
 “ that of the 4th instant, I have received a particular account  
 “ of what passed at your first audience, and what other proceedings have bin upon your negotiation; which, so farre  
 “ as they have bin communicated to me, I doe well approve  
 “ of, as having bin managed by you with care and prudence. You will understand by Mr. Secretary Thurloe  
 “ in what condition the treaty with the united provinces  
 “ is, in case it shall please God, that a peace be made with  
 “ them, which a little time will show; yett I see no reason  
 “ to be diverted thereby from the former intentions of entering into an alliance with Sweden, nor that there will be  
 “ any thing in the league, intended with the low countreyes,  
 “ repugnant therunto, especially in things wherein you are  
 “ already instructed fully: and for the matter of your third  
 “ and fourth private instructions, if the queen hath any mind  
 “ therto, upon your transmitting particulars hither, such  
 “ consideration will be had thereof, as the then constitution  
 “ of affayres will leade unto; in the mean time, you may  
 “ assure

1653. “ assure the queen of the constancy and reality of my intentions to settle a firme alliance with her. I commend  
 March 2. “ you to the goodnes of God.

Whitehall, 3d Feb.  
 1653.

“ Your loving friend,

“ OLIVER P.”

3. Grave John Oxenstierne, eldest son of the chancellor, came to visit Whitelocke, a ricks senator, and had bin ricks scatz-master, or high treasurer; a place next in honor to that of his father.’ He had bin formerly ambassador from this crown to England; butt bicause he was sent by the chancellor his father, and the other directors of the affayres of Sweden in the queen’s minority, which king Charles and his councill tooke not to be from a soveraign prince; and bicause his buisnes touching the prince Elect’s settlement, and the affayres of Germany, relating to Sweden, did not please our king; therefore this gentleman was not treated heer with that respect and solemnity, as he challenged to be due to him as an ambassador; which bred a distast in him and his father against the king and councill heer, as neglecting the father, and the good offices which he tendered to king Charles and this nation, by flighting the son and his quality.

The discourse between this Grave and Whitelocke was not long, though uppon severall matters: and he seemed to be sent to excuse the delay of the treaty with Whitelocke, for which he mentioned former reasons, as his father’s want of health, multiplicity of buisnes, the expected issue of the dutch treaty, and the like; and the same excuses were againe repeated by Lagerfeldt, who came to Whitelocke from the chancellor, for the same purpose.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke had occasion to looke into his new credentialls 1653.  
and instructions from the protector, which were thus. \*

March 3.

\* See AppendixK.

“ Oliver lord protector, &c. to the most serene and potent prince Christina, &c. health and prosperity.

“ Most serene and potent queen,

“ God (who is the great disposer of all things) having bin pleased in his unfearchable wisdom to make a change in the government of these nations, since the time that the noble B. Whitelocke, constable, &c. went from hence, qualified and commissioned as ambassador extraordinary from the parlement of the common-wealth of England unto your majesty, to communicate with you in things tending to the mutuall good and utility of both the nations ; we have thought it necessary upon this occasion to assure your majesty, that the present change of affayres heer hath made no alteration of the good intentions on this side towards your majesty and your dominions ; butt that as we hold ourselfe obliged, in the exercise of that power which God and the people have intrusted us with, to indeavor, by all just and honorable means, to hold a good correspondence with our neighbors, so more perticularly with the crown of Sweden, between whom and these nations there hath alwayes bin a firm amity and strict alliance : and, therefore, we have given instructions to the said lord Whitelocke, answerable to such good desires, earnestly requesting your majesty to give unto him favourable audience, as often as he shall desire it, and full believe in what he shall propound on the behalfe of these dominions ; and so we heartily commend  
VOL. I.                      O o o                      “ your



1653. " your majesty and your affayres to the divine protection.  
 March 3. " Given att Whitehall, this 23d. of December, Old Stile,  
 1653.

" Your good friend,

" OLIVER P."

The following instructions were under the hand and private seale of the protector.

" An instruction for B. Whitelocke, constable, &c. ambassador extraordinary from the common-wealth of England to the queen of Sweden.

" Whereas you were lately sent in the quality of ambassador extraordinary from the parlement of the common-wealth of England unto her majesty the queen of Sweden, for the renewing and contracting an alliance and confederation with that queen and crown, according to the commission and instructions you received from the said parlement and the then councill of state. And whereas, since your departure hence, the then parlement hath bin dissolved, and the government is settled and established in such a way that you will understand by letters from Mr. Thurloe, secretary of the councill, who is directed to give unto you a full accountt herof. Now, lest the worke you are uppon (which is so necessary in itselfe to both the nations, and so sincerely desired on our part) should be interrupted or retarded, by reason of the said change of affayres, and the question that may arise thereupon, concerning the validity of your commission and instructions; I have thought fitt, by advice of the councill, to write unto her majesty new letters credentiall, a copy wherof you will receive heerewith, which letters you  
 " are

“ are to present to the queen. And you are also, by virtue 1653.  
 “ of these presents, to lett her majesty know, that the al-  
 “ teration of the governement heer hath made no change <sup>March 3.</sup>  
 “ in the good intentions on this side towards her majesty  
 “ and her dominions; butt that she shall find the same readines  
 “ in me to maintaine and increase all good intelligence and  
 “ correspondence with that queen and crown, as in any  
 “ the former governors of these nations. And to that end  
 “ you are heerby authoris'd to proceed in your present ne-  
 “ gotiation, and to indeavor to bring the treaty with her  
 “ majesty to a good conclusion, according to the tenor and  
 “ effect of the commission, powers, and instructions you  
 “ have already received, and which I shall by any further  
 “ act ratify and confirme, according as the nature of the  
 “ buisnes shall require.

“ Before your lordship deliver these letters credentiall to  
 “ the queen, or make any addressees to her, you are to in-  
 “ forme yourselfe fully of the reception you are like to have,  
 “ and whither her intentions be to come to a treaty of amity  
 “ with this state, as the governement is now established;  
 “ that no dishonor may befall us, or these dominions, in your  
 “ addressees uppon these letters and instructions. Given att  
 “ Whitehall this 23d of December, 1653.

“ O L I V E R P.”

Whitelocke made many dispatches this day to England.

Whitelocke waited on the queen, and showed her part of  
 the letters which he received from England, wheruppon she  
 againe asked him if the protector were sacrée? Whitelocke  
 said, No, and that his letters mentioned only a solemnity of  
 intertaining the protector by the citty of London. White-

1653. locke also communicated to her majesty the protector's letter  
 March 4. to him, and the expression that Whitelocke should assure her  
 majesty of the protector's constant and reall intentions to  
 settle a firm alliance with the queen; which, she said, she was  
 also most ready to make with the protector.

Whitelocke then said, it might be fitt to make some progress in his treaty uppon his articles, and perticularly in those which concerned amity and commerce, and had no dependance on the issue of the treaty with Holland; and therefore might be had in consideration before the other were fully concluded, and the rest of the articles might be considered afterwards; which the queen said should be done, and that she would send an ambassador to the protector. She was very inquisitive concerning London, and our universities: by her discourse gave him to imagine she had thoughts of travayling into France, Spayne, Italy, and into England; and asked Whitelocke, if he thought the protector would give way to her coming thither? Whitelocke answered, that the protector would bid her majesty very wellcome thither.

He was alone with her neer two howers, and att his taking leave, she desired him to come to her agayne on Monday next, and that then she would reade over with him his articles, both in latin and english, which they would consider together; and such things as she could consent unto, she would tell him, and what she could not consent unto, he should then know from her, and they might marke it in the margent as they went alonge: yett, she said, she would have him to proceed in his conference with her chancellor as before, and that no body should know of that conference between her and Whitelocke; butt she would so order the buisnes, that what they consented unto should be effected

effected afterwards, and that in two howers they might goe 1653.  
over all the articles.

March 4.

Whitelocke told her majesty, he presumed that she would admit of a free debate uppon any of them: she said, by all means, that was reasonable; and in case the peace between England and Holland did not take effect, that then the ambassador, whom she intended howsoever to send into England, might conclude uppon such other articles as should be thought fitt. Whitelocke asked her, if she had any thoughts of being included in the dutch treaty? she said, No, for she had not medled with the war, and therefore desired not to be included in the peace with them.

From the queen, Whitelocke went and visited Piementelle, who showed him a letter he received from a great person in Flanders, mentioning, that Beningen had written to his superiors, that the english ambassador and the spanish resident were often together, and had showed great respect to each other, which his highness the arch duke liked very well, and gave Piementelle thanks for it; and though Monsieur Beningen did not like of their being so friendly, yett his superiors indeavoured all they could to have amity with England. When Whitelocke told him of the english fleet att sea, he said it was great pitty the same was not employed. He then showed Whitelocke a letter from Beningen to his superiors, wherein he taxed Whitelocke with omitting the ceremony of meeting prince Adolphe att his doore: Whitelocke repeated to Piementelle the carriage of that buisnes as before; and Piementelle said, that neither the queen nor himselfe had ever heard the prince expresse any dislike of Whitelocke's carriage; and that the queen seeing Beningen's letter, said, there were many things in it concerning Whitelocke, which, uppon her knowledge, were not true. It  
was

1653. was also said in the letter, that the english ambassador had many long audiences with her majesty, and conferences with the chancellor, butt that he could not in the least learne what passed between them; with which Whitelocke had no cause to be displeased.

March 4.

5. The *Lord's day*. Whitelocke had two good sermons in his house, att which divers English and Scotts, besides those of his family, were present.

In the evening the queen past through the streets in her coach, with divers other coaches, and her servants waiting on her, to take the aier, though uppon this day; and in the night, many disorderly drunkards were committing debaucheries and insolencies in the town, and att Whitelocke's doore.

6. Whitelocke visited senator Scute, who spake in excuse of the delay of his buisnes: Whitelocke said,

*Wh.* I have already stayed long in this place, and nothing is yet done in my buisnes.

*Sc.* Your stay heer hath bin of more advantage to England, then if they had sent 10,000 men into Holland; who, by your stay heer, will be brought on with the greater desire of making peace with you.

*Wh.* They know nothing of my negotiation.

*Sc.* That makes them the more jealous; the slowness of one person is the cause that hitherto you have received no satisfaction; and I doubt not butt ere long you will have answers to your contentment.

Whilest

Whilest Whitelocke was with him, the queen sent one of her gentlemen thither to him, to desire him to putt off his visit of her majesty till the next day, by reason she had then extraordinary buisnes: and the messenger being gone, Scute said,

1653.  
March 6.

*Sc.* The queen is buisy in dispatching three senators to the prince, Grave Eric Oxenstierne, Monsieur Fleming, and Monsieur Vanderlin, who are deputed for the buisnes of the queen's resignation; and I, in a few dayes, shall be sent to the prince.

*Wh.* I pray doe me the favour to present my service to his royall highness, whom I am very desirous to salute as soon as I can gayne an opportunity; and doe hope that his resort to this place will be before I shall be necessitated to returne, that I may give myselfe the honor to kisse his hand.

Whitelocke visited the ricks dreight-set Grave Brahe, who is of the noble family of Tycho Brahe. He was president of the colledge of justice, and the first minister of state of the kingdome: the name of his office is as much as Vice Roy, and his jurisdiction is a soveraigne court for the administration of justice; and he hath power both civill and military. The office is in effect the same with that antient officer with us, called the chiefe justice of England.

The habit of this chiefe justice of Sweden was a coate, and a furred cap of black, a sword and belt, and no cloake; two soldiers centry att his chamber doore, which Whitelocke had not observed elsewhere, butt att the court. They had much discourse of Whitelocke's buisnes, wherein he testified affections to the common-wealth of England, though Whitelocke had bin informed that he was not their friend; butt

1653. butt he the rather chose to visit him first, and found him  
 very civill : he spake latin very readily, and no french, al-  
 though Whitelocke was told he could speake it well.

March 6.

He inquired much of the common-wealth and affayres of England, and government of it, and seemed well pleased by Whitelocke's relation of it.

He informed Whitelocke of the swedish government, and perticularly of his own office : he discoursed much of the prince of Sweden, which Whitelocke judged the fitter for him to approve, bicause prince Adolphe's lady was this Grave's daughter. He told Whitelocke that he had bin governor of Finland ten years together, which province he affirmed to be greater then France, and that the queen's dominions were larger then France, Spayne, Italy, all together.

Whitelocke asked him, if those countryes were well peopled, and flourished with corne, and good townes ? he answered, that Finland was well peopled, and had store of corne, and good towns ; butt that it was not so with Lapland, and other countryes further off : butt he said, that no part of Sweden had such towns as were in England, where he had bin when he was a young man, which countrey he much praysed ; and Whitelocke had no cause to gaynsay it.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke an Atlas, in four great volumes, in acknowledgement of a vessell of spanish wine, which Whitelocke had before sent to him for a present.

7. The governor of Upsale, Monsieur Banniere, presented to Whitelocke three latin bookes ; 1. The Story of Sweden ;

2

2. Of

2. Of the lawes of Sweden ; 3. Of sea affayres ; which were not ordinary to be had. 1653.

March 7.

The queen sent one of her servants to invite Whitelocke to take the aier with her in the fields ; and being come to the castle, she excused her not being yett ready to conferre with him uppon his articles, as she had promised ; butt told him, that she had ordered something to be written down on that subject to shew to him.

She took him into her coach, where was the belle comtesse, the comtesse Gabriel Oxenstierne, prince Adolphe, Piementelle, Montecueuli, Tot, and Whitelocke : the queen was very merry, and they were full of chearfull discourse.

Being returned to the castle att night, she desired to heare Whitelocke's musick, whom he sent for to the castle ; and they played and sang in her presence, wherwith she seemed much pleased, and desired Whitelocke to thanke them in her name : she said she never heard so good a consort of musicke, and of english songs ; and desired Whitelocke, at his returne to England, to procure her some to play on those instruments which would be most agreeable to her.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke in the court, and told him, that the chancellor intended to have had a meeting with him this day, butt was hindered by falling sick of a ague ; butt in case his health would not permitt him to meet, that then his son Eric Oxenstierne, by the queen's appointment, would meet and conferre with Whitelocke about the treaty, in place of his father : butt Whitelocke was not gladd of this deputation, wishing much rather to conferre with the old man uppon this subject, who was good-natured, civill, and affectionate to Whitelocke, then with the son Grave Eric,

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who



1653. who was of a more rugged and self-conceited humor, and  
 March 7. not so soon gained by reason and convinced by arguments,  
 as the good old man his father used to be.

8. .Grave Eric Oxenstiérne visited White Locke, and spake much to excuse the delay of his treaty; and said, that his father was very sick of a ague, and he believed the queen would depute some other to conferre with him, in case his father's health would not permit him that liberty.

*Wh.* I am very sorry for the indisposition of our father, and for the delay of my buisnes: I have bin heer about three moneths, and nothing is yett concluded.

*Er.* The incertainty of your dutch affayre, and the queen's desire to know the issue of it, hath occasioned this delay.

*Wh.* As the points of amity and commerce, they concerne not our dutch treaty.

*Er.* You will be sure to receive all satisfaction and contentment on that subject; butt there are many perticulars of the commerce to be considered.

*Wh.* I cannot say much upon those perticulars; butt I was sent hither by my lord protector to testify his respect to the queen and kingdome of Sweden, and to offer to them the amity of England, which, I suppose, that wise and experienced persons as you are will accept of; and for commerce, my proposalls are generall.

*Er.* I

Er. I confesse the perticulars therof may more conveniently be treated on by marchants ; and we doe not so much desire a confederation with any nation as with England. 1653. March 8.

It was supposed by Whitelocke, that, by the deferring of his buisnes heer, the Hollanders would be in the more suspense and doubt of the issue of it, and might therby come on the more freely in their treaty with England ; wheras, if the issue of his buisnes heer were known, it might perhaps seem lesse to them then it was now suspected to be, uppon this ground, though he spake of the delay : yett he did not so much presse for a positive answer, butt that he imagined the dutch treaty might be brought to an issue ; he intended to putt on his buisnes heer, and the default hitherto rested on their part, as was acknowledged by their own excuses.

Whilest Eric was with Whitelocke, the ricks dreight-set came in ; and, after Grave Eric was gone, the dreight-set discoursed much concerning the protector and his family, his extraction and pedigree, his former quality and condition, and his present state and manner of living : to which Whitelocke answered truly, and with honor to the protector ; and as to his present post, attendants, and ceremonies of his court, he could not give so punctuall an account, it being altered since his coming from England.

He also inquired perticularly concerning the parlement, the formes of their summons, sitting, debating, voting, power, and authority ; in all which Whitelocke was the better able to satisfy him, having bin a member of parlement for almost thirty years together : and then the dreight-set inquired further.

Dr. What opinions of Calvin are most in estimation in England ? and what is the state of your religion there ?

1653. *Wh.* Neither Calvin's opinion, nor Luther's, are esteemed  
 March 8. in England, further then they are agreeable to the holy  
 scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are the  
 rules, and containe the state of religion professed in England:  
 butt by what state of religion is the prophanation of the  
*Lord's day*, and of images and crucifixes. in churches per-  
 mitted?

*Dr.* No recreations or workes are permitted on Sundayes,  
 till after divine service ended, and then Calvin permitts  
 them; and Luther is of opinion for the historicall use of  
 images and crucifixes, butt not to pray to them.

*Wh.* Heerin both the opinion of Calvin and that of Lu-  
 ther are expressely contrary to the holy scripture, and  
 therefore not esteemed in these points in England.

The dreight-set eagerly asserted these opinions not to be  
 contrary to the scripture, butt alleadged no prooffe, either  
 from thence, or out of humane authors, to make good his  
 assertion.

After much argumentation heeruppon, the dreight-set  
 offered to Whitelocke, that he would move the queen for  
 a speedy dispatch of his buisnes; and said, he did not doubt  
 butt that satisfaction would be given him therin.

Whitelocke was the more desirous to gett a conclusion of  
 his buisnes whilest Piementelle was heere, bicause of his  
 great favour with the queen; which, with her respects to  
 Montecuculi, both great papists, caused Whitelocke to have  
 the more doubt of her inclinations.

Prince

Prince Adolphe made a great intertainment for Monteculi, Piementelle, and most of the grandees in town : butt Whitelocke was omitted, his humor and principles as to their jollities and drinking of healths, not being agreeable to theirs ; and he held this neglect no affliction to him. 1653.  
March 8.

Whitelocke visited the ricks admirall Oxenstierne, the chancellor's brother, who received him with great civility ; and they discoursed very much of Whitelocke's buisnes to the effect as others did. 9.

He also visited Grave John Oxenstierne, the chancellor's eldest son, whose carriage was elated ; two of his pages were sons of earles, and had the title of earles : his servants were some of them sett att his outer doore to receive Whitelocke, himselfe vouchsafed to meet him att the inner doore, and, with supercilious reservedness of state, descended to say to Whitelocke, that he was wellcome.

They discoursed of England, where this Grave had bin, as is before remembered, and the distast he there received, which possibly might cause his greater neglect of Whitelocke, who tooke little notice of it.

He tooke upon him to be fully instructed in the affayres of England, and of the lawes and government there ; wherein Whitelocke presumed to rectify some of his mistakes.

When he offered to move the queen for dispatch of Whitelocke's buisnes, he answered, that he had done it himselfe already, and there would be no need to trouble any other.

This occasioned some discourse about the treaty, to which, with great gravity, this generall declared his judgement concerning

1653. <sup>cerning</sup> contraband goods, that great care was to be taken  
 ~~~~~ therin, not to give any interruption to trade; Whitelocke  
 March 9. said, that concerned England much more then Sweden.

Then he took care that the english rebels and traytors might have favour in his countrey: butt Whitelocke, knowing that he was neither imployed nor versed in the buisnes of his treaty, spent the fewer words in answer to his immateriall objections.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke attended the queen, who excused her not having conferred with him about his treaty: Whitelocke told her, that, if it were now seasonable, he had them ready, and they might reade them over together; wherunto she consented, and he read them to her.

She tooke out a paper of notes, written with her own hand in latin, her observations uppon the articles.

After Whitelocke had read the first article, she said, there was nothing therin which needed explanation.

2. The second, she said, would require consideration, and read, out of her notes, the words communis interesse, which she desired Whitelocke to explaine what was meant by them. He told her those words included matter of safety, and matter of traffique: she then demaunded why the Baltick sea was named, as to free navigation, and not other seas likewise? Whitelocke said, the reason was, bicause att present navigation was not free in the Baltick sea, butt if she pleased to have other seas also named, he would consent to it: she asked, if he would consent as to freedome of navigation in America? Whitelocke told her he could not, and that the treatyes of the common-wealth were comprehended within
 7 the

the bounds of Europe. She asked him what he thought the protector would doe in case she should demaund that liberty? He said, his highnes would give such an answer as should consist with the interest of England, and show a due regard to her majesty. 1653.
March 9.

3. This third article, she said, she would agree unto, butt she thought it necessary, that a forme should be agreed upon for certificates and letters of safe conduct, that ships might passe free upon showing of them. Whitelocke said, he thought there would be no need of them, especially if the peace with the Dutch were concluded. She replied, that if the war continued, it would be necessary.

4. She said, she thought there would be no need of this article, and read another, which she herselfe had drawn in latin, to this effect.

“That if any heerafter should commit treason, or be rebels in one countrey, they should not be harboured in the other.” Whitelocke said, the article was already to that purpose, and he thought it was necessary for the good of both nations: she said, it would be too sharpe against divers officers who had served her father, and herselfe, and were now settled in Sweden. Whitelocke offered that amendement which he before tendered to the chancellor, which, when she read, she told Whitelocke, that might include all those men whom she mentioned before. Whitelocke said, that, upon inquiry into it, he found not one excepted by name from pardon. She said, for any thing to be done heerafter, it was reasonable, and she would consent to it. Whitelocke said, that if any heerafter should come into her countrey, who were excepted from pardon, it was also reasonable to include them in this article.

5. She

1653. 5. She said, that this and the second article would require further consideration; because, if she should consent therunto, it would declare her breach of the newtrality, which she had hitherto kept. Whitelocke told her, if the peace were concluded with the Dutch, that newtrality would be gone; and, if the warre continued, he presumed she would not sticke to declare otherwise then that newtrality: she said, that was true, butt she desired that this, and the second article might be lett alone, untill the issue of the dutch treaty.

March 9.

6. Article she said was reasonable.

7. She took exception to the words, *bona à fuis cujusq; inimicis direpta*, which she said was a breach of her newtrality: to that Whitelocke answered, as before uppon the fifth article, and she desired it might be past over as the second and fifth articles, till the issue of the dutch treaty were known. She said, she would desire the liberty of fishing for herrings: Whitelocke told her, that, uppon equall conditions, he presumed his highnes would consent to that which should be fitt. She asked, what conditions he would demaund? Whitelocke said, those matters of commerce would be better agreed uppon with the advice of marchants.

8. Article she said was equall.

9. There was no difference uppon it.

10. She judged fitt to be agreed uppon.

11. She made some short observations, which by explanation Whitelocke cleared, and she agreed.

12. The

12. The like as uppon the 11th article.

1653.

Mar. 9.

13. To this article she read in latin an objection to the proviso, and said, it was reasonable that, if they did breake bulke, they should pay custome for so much only as they should. Whitelocke told her, that objection showed, that there were great men marchants in Sweden, and that the objection was more in favour of the marchants then of herselfe: she said, the marchants were crafty indeed; and she did not much insist uppon it.

14. The last article which Whitelocke had given in; to this she said, it was fitt that the men of war, that should come into the others ports, should be to a number ascertained, to avoyd suspition. Whitelocke said, he would agree therunto, with a caution, as in the first article, to be added; if they should be driven by tempest, force, or necessity, then to be dispenced with.

Whitelocke desired her majesty to give him a copy of her objections; she told him, they were only a few things which she had written with her own hand, uppon her apprehension of the articles, and that he should have them in writing; butt she desired him not to acquaint any person heer with this conference.

Uppon yesterdaye's conference with the queen, Whitelocke wrote the passages therof, att large, to Thurloe, to be communicated to the councell in England, and to pray their direction in some points, which are sett down thus in his letters.

" I shall desire to know the pleasure of my lord protector and councell, whither, in case I shall conclude those ar-

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Q q q

icles

1653. ^{Mar. 10.} ticles of amity and commerce, omitting the second, fifth, and seventh articles, if his highnes will be pleased to approve therof: I confesse my humble opinion is (unlesse I receive commaunds to the contrary) that, in case the peace be concluded between us and Holland, and Denmarke included, it will be no disadvantage to us to conclude the alliance heer, omitting the second, fifth, and that part of the seventh article against which her majesty objected, if she shall insist upon it.

“ Another point, wherein I pray direction, is upon the sixteenth article of your treaty with the Dutch, that either common-wealth shall be comprehended, if they desire it, in treatyes with other princes, and notice to be given of such treatyes; whither in case your treaty with the Dutch shall be agreed, that then, notice ought to be given to them of the treaty with the queen of Sweden, and the Dutch to be offered to be comprehended therein; or whither the treaty heer, being begun before that with the Dutch concluded, there will be any cause to give such notice to them, or to give notice to the queen of your treaty with the Dutch; which you will be pleased to consider.

“ I am very willing to hasten homewards, when I may obtaine my lord's order; and that it will be no prejudice heer to your service, as I conceive such a conclusion would not att all be.

“ I presume you have heard of the newes att Antwerpe, which is very fresh heer this weeke, that the arch-duke hath imprisoned the duke of Loraine in the castle of Antwerpe, which caused the gates of the town to be shutt; and that hath occasioned to your friends heer the losse of the comfort of this weeks letters from England, the post being stayed

stayed there, as I was certefyed from your resident att Ham-
 bourgh.”

1653.
 Mar. 10.

Many dispatches were made by Whitelocke to his friends in England, as his constant course was.

The ricks admiral visited Whitelocke ; he discoursed of the treaty heer, and said, that the queen had not yett informed the councell of it in perticular. He much inquired of the nobility of England, of the earls and barons, and of their priviledges, and what ranke their children had, and of the severall orders of knights, and of their originall ; in which matters Whitelocke was able to give him some satisfaction.

He told Whitelocke, that the duke of Loraine was imprisoned for conspiring with the compte de Bassigni, to betray three strong townes to the king of France.

Whitelocke visited prince Adolphe, who also discoursed of his buisnes, as others did : Whitelocke told him of his long being heer without any answear ; the prince said, the queen's designs to introduce a mutation might cause it. Whitelocke said, he believed that the amity of England deserved so much regard as to be imbraced ; and that it would be all one, whither the treaty should be agreed uppon by the queen, or by her succeffor, for it concerned the people and state of both nations ; and he presumed, that if the queen should consent to it, that his highness's brother would have the like good opinion of it.

The prince said, it would be most agreeable to his brother, who very much respected the English nation, as generally the Swedish people did. He said, that he never

1653, was present att the councell, nor did middle with any publique buisnes; butt he doubted not, butt that Whitelocke
 Mar. 11. would receive contentment.

Whitelocke said, he promised himselfe so much, being the protector had sent him hither to testify his respects to the queen, and to the kingdome of Sweden, and to offer them the amity of England.

The prince also discoursed of the late king of England, and of the proceedings between him and the parlement, with great dislike therof; to which Whitelocke gave him an account, and a modest answer, declining that argument with the prince, and telling him, that every nation had their perticular rights and lawes, according to which they were governed.

He testified great respect to Whitelocke; and, when he tooke his leave, the prince conducted him as farre as the great court, which he used not to doe to others of Whitelocke's quality.

12. Mr. Bloome, who had bin formerly a servant to the old duke of Bucks in England, and after that, comming to Sweden, was intertained by the chancellor, and his great creature, and had bin imployed by him as a publique minister, did the honor to Whitelocke to be often with him; and now, after dinner, discoursed much of the revolution which was likely to happen in this countrey by the queen's resignation; uppon which subject, Whitelocke thought not fitt to speake much in company.

Afterwards, in private, Whitelocke asked Mr. Bloome, if he had heard the chancellor speake of deferring his buisnes

nes till the prince were crowned? Bloome confest, he heard 1563.
 the chancellor say, that he thought it would be more con-
 venient to have Whitelocke's buisnes resolved after the king ^{Mar. 12.}
 should be crowned, then att present. Whitelocke told him
 (which he supposed Bloome would againe relate to the chan-
 cellor), that all acts of such nature, concluded by the queen
 before her resignation, would be held authentique by her
 successor. Bloome said, he believed so; butt, being the
 change would be so soone, he thought it might be better to
 have the buisnes putt into the hands of the new king.
 Whitelocke said, it would require a long time to expect the
 new king's settlement, before which he believed his returne
 home might be commaunded. Bloome said, the buisnes
 would be soon done after the meeting of the ricksdagh,
 which did not use to sitt long.

By this, and other discourfes, Whitelocke found that
 there was a purpose in some to deferre the conclusion of
 his treaty to the king, which he therfore prepared to pre-
 vent.

La Belle Comtesse made a great intertainment and balle
 for Montecuculi, and the rest of the gallants, this night,
 though it were the Lord's day; butt Whitelocke nor none
 of his company were present att it.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke to conferre about his 13.
 treaty, and said to him.

Er. The queen hath commaunded me to come to you,
 and to have some conference with you about your propo-
 salls, wherein she is pleased to make use of my service, bi-
 cause, att this time, my father is very ill of an ague, and
 is not able himselfe to meet with you; and his former in-
 disposition

1653. disposition of health, and extraordinary affayres, hath bin
 ~~~~~ some occasion of hinderance of the dispatch of your buisnes,  
 Mar. 13. as also the uncertainty of the issue of your treaty with  
 Holland, and our great buisnes of the queen's intentions  
 heer.

*Wh.* I have long expected some answear to be given in  
 my buisnes, the greatest part wherof hath no dependance  
 uppon the treaty with Holland, and the queen's intentions  
 heer have bin butt lately made knowne. I have bin three  
 moneths in this place without any answear to my buisnes,  
 although I presume, that the amity of England is gratefull  
 to this nation, and may merit the acceptance.

*Er.* So is the friendship of Sweden.

*Wh.* My lord protector hath testified that by sending me  
 hither.

*Er.* The queen hath likewise sent severall publique mi-  
 nisters to England, and Mnr. Lagerfeldt was a long time  
 there without effecting any thing.

*Wh.* He had answears to his propofalls very often, and it  
 was on his part that a conclusion was not had with him.  
 Butt if you please to proceed to a conference uppon my  
 propofalls, I am ready to treat with you, as I have alwayes  
 bin to treat with my lord chancellor, your father, for whose  
 ill health I am heartily sorry.

*Er.* I am ready in the same way of secrecy as it hath bin  
 carryed with my father, so that Mnr. Beningen, in his let-  
 ters to his superiors, saith, that the english ambaffador did  
 treat with none butt the queen alone, and sometimes alone

with the chancellor, wherby he could not possibly give any 1653.  
 account of those transactions; for he thought, that not one <sup>Mar. 13.</sup>  
 person in Sweden, except the queen and the chancellor,  
 knew what they were.

*Wh.* The gentleman hath done me an honor in that expression.

*Er.* My coming to your excellence is to proceed in your business, and I desire a consideration may be had of the great losses which the queen's subjects have sustained by the seizing and detaining of their ships by the English.

*Wh.* This is a new objection, and I am neither impowred, nor have ability to cast up such accounts, or to take such examinations; butt there is a court of justice in England, which I presume have done, and will doe, right to any who have cause to complaine: and I know, that my lord protector will commaund that justice shall be done to all the queen's subjects; and if any of them have received any injury, they ought to receive a just satisfaction from the parties that did them wrong; and, if you please, I shall mention these things in my letters to England, and, when I come thither myselfe, I will personally indeavor that the same may be had fully.

*Er.* I hope a just satisfaction will be given heerin, without which there can be no solid foundation of amity between the two nations and their people.

*Wh.* The same is reasonably and mutually to be expected; and I make no question, butt my lord protector will order right to be done therin.

*Er.*

1653. *Er.* The queen's subjects have received great losses under  
 colour of contrebanded goods, when the same hath not bin  
 Mar. 13. proved.

*Wh.* And many of our allies have bin found to colour our enemies goods to the damage of England: butt these matters will be proper for an examination elsewhere.

They proceeded to the perticular articles.

1. This Eric said was equall.
2. He made the same objections as the queen had done, and Whitelocke gave the same answers; and Eric said, that this article depended upon our treaty with the Dutch.
3. Eric desired an explanation of the words, omnibus in locis quibus hactenus commercium exercebatur, whither that were not intended to include the english plantations in America, because traffique thither, without speciall license, was prohibited by our common-wealth; and he said, it would be unequall for the English to have the full traffique in the queen's dominions, and her subjects not to have the like in our common-wealth.

Whitelocke answered, that the English desired no traffique in any of the queen's dominions out of Europe, and, therefore, it was equall not to consent to their traffique in America; and that the opinion of the councill of state in England had bin made known to Mnr. Lagerfeldt in England, in this point: which paper Whitelocke then showed, and the Grave urged many other arguments, butt Whitelocke kept himselfe to the paper of the councill.

Eric

Eric said, those transactions of Lagerfeldt were remitted <sup>1653.</sup> to Whitlocke's ambassy. Whitlocke said, that whatever his instructions might warrant, yett it would not become him to doe any thing contrary to that, wherein the councell of state had declared their judgement. <sup>Mar. 13.</sup>

The same answer Whitlocke gave him concerning the herring fishing, which Eric much insisted upon; and as to the præ-emption of the commodities of Sweden, mentioned in the councells paper, which Whitlocke showed him, Eric said, that could not be, because those commodities were of very great value, and belonged to severall private persons; and he demanded of Whitlocke, if he thought England would be contented to give a præ-emption of all their cloth.

Whitlocke said, the cloth of England was likewise of very great value, and there would hardly be found one stocke to buy it all, and there were severall staples in other countreyes to vent it at; and he said, he thought the best way would be, first to agree upon the generall amity and commerce between the two nations, and afterwards, if Sweden held it fitt, when they sent an ambassador to England, or otherwise, to propound any thing concerning the fishing for herrings, or the traffique in America, or touching a staple at Narva, Revell, or Gothenbergh (which Eric likewise discoursed of at large), that the protector would give a fayre and just answer.

4. Eric made the same objections that the queen had done, and had the same answers.

5. The like discourse was upon this article.

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R r r

6. Eric



1653. 6. Eric said, was the same in effect with the fourth article,  
 Mar. 13. and might be adjoyned to it : Whitelocke showed him the  
 difference, chiefly in the beginning of this article ; and so  
 they past on.

7. They had many arguments touching contrebanda  
 goods, wherein Whitelocke held himselfe to the paper given  
 by the councill to Lagerfeldt ; and Eric past it over, as  
 depending uppon the successe of the treaty with Holland,  
 especially in the words bona a suis cujusq; inimicis direpta.

8. Eric thought would need explanation of the words  
 in quolibet fuorum marium : Whitelocke told him, that  
 was intended in Europe only.

9. Eric said, the words, armatis vel inermibus, were not  
 necessary ; bicause, by the law of Sweden, any might carry  
 their armes with them : Whitelocke told him, that it was  
 not permitted in England for so many together without  
 license.

10. Eric made no objection to this article.

11. Nor any to this article.

12. Nor was any thing objected to this article.

13. Eric said, the proviso needed explanation, as to the  
 point of breaking bulke, as the queen had objected ; and  
 Whitelocke gave the same answear.

14. The like objections and answears as before, and con-  
 sent to the like amendement.

Eric

Eric and much other good company dined with Whitelocke, and, after dinner, they had further discourse on the same subject. And Eric promised to give his objections to Whitelocke in writing, and to lett him know the queen's pleasure uppon their conference; which Whitelocke intended to know also from the queen herselfe. 1653.  
Mar. 13.

The company being gone, Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who discoursed much touching the duke of Loraine, and of the insolencies of his soldiers, for which the duke would give no right; butt, if a poor countryman complained to him, that his wife had bin ravished by his soldiers, and his goods taken away, the duke would laugh att the poor man, and say to him, it is my condition, the king of France hath ravished my wife and my estate, and I have gott another wife, and maintaine myselfe with the goods of others; and I advise thee to doe the same as I have done.

Piementelle informed Whitelocke of a carriage of Beningen, of much more incivility towards the queen, then that which he attributed to Whitelocke towards prince Adolphe; and Whitelocke imparted to Piementelle some passages between Grave Eric and Whitelocke, supposing he would tell it to the queen.

Fower of the queen's servants did Whitelocke the honor to dine with him; and, after they were gone, Whitelocke visited the Feldt Marshall Wrangell, a gentleman of an antient noble family in this countrey, son to generall Wrangell, of whom so often and so honorable mention is made in the German warres under Gustavus Adolphus, the queen's father. 14.

1653. This feldt marshall was about thirty-five years of age,  
 Mar. 14. his person proper and burly, his countenance marshall and  
 ingenious, and his discourse answerable; his behaviour  
 courteous, and full of cheerfulness in his words and  
 actions; his education was liberall: some time he had spent  
 in foreign parts, and had attained languages, and the mili-  
 tary part of learning.

He was full of knowledge of the mathematiques, and well  
 read in story: his genius led him most to warfare, and the  
 sea affaires seemed most suitable to his affections; wherof  
 he would much discourse with Whitelocke, and admired his  
 relations of the english fleets and havens.

His valour and conduct had commonly the best associate,  
 good success, which he used to improve, not parting with  
 the least advantage: this brought him to the favour of his  
 queen, and honor of his country, wherein he was a ricks  
 senator, and as a feldt marshall commaunded the army, and  
 was ricks vice-admirall, which charge he attained in the late  
 warre with Denmarke; and he it was that tooke the king  
 of Denmarke's ships, in the late fight with them.

Whitelocke gave him thanks for his favours to White-  
 locke's son att Stockholme: they discoursed of the english  
 navy, wherof Wrangell knew many of the ships by name.  
 He told Whitelocke, that Middleton was arrived in Scotland  
 with 200 officers and 6000 armes, which he brought from  
 the lowe countryes.

From Wrangell, Whitelocke went to visit Woolfeldt, to  
 congratulate his recovery of health. He told Whitelocke,  
 that, by letters which he received from one of his servants in  
 the low countryes, he was advertised, that the states had  
 sould.

ould above twenty of their ships of warre, and that his servant heard the admirall de Wits speake of it. He also told Whitelocke, that he had spoken with many officers of the army, and found all of them wish, that the war between England and Holland might continue; by which they hoped they should joyne with the English, and gayne advantage by it, and themselves good imployment and plunder.

1653.  
Mar. 14.

Butt he said, that the chancellor and his sons, and their party, desired that a peace might be between the two common-wealths, bicause they were rich enough, and had an interest in trade, and were no soldiers; and that the queen desired peace among all her neighbours, and although she was very couragious, yett she loved not the warres.

Whitelocke waited on the queen, and gave her an account of the conference between Grave Eric and him: the queen said, that Grave Eric had told her the same things; Whitelocke replied, that her majesty should never find other then trueth from him. Uppon the point of damages she seemed satisfied, though she were informed, that those matters were remitted to Whitelocke's negotiation: to which he answered as he had done before to Eric; and she was contented, and said, she would send an ambassador to England, by whom the affayres touching the herring fishing, and the erection of a staple, and the trade in America, might be concluded; and she told Whitelocke, that she had ordered those things, which she judged fitt to be added to his articles, to be written down and given to him.

15.

She asked Whitelocke, by what way he purposed to returne to England; he said, he was doubtfull of going by land, and thought the passage from Stockholme to Lubec would be the shortest and most convenient for him.

She.

1653. She replied, that would be his best way, and that she  
 Mar. 15. would give order for some of her ships to be ready to transport him; for which Whitelocke thanked her majesty.

She discoursed much of England, and asked many questions about the Thames, and other rivers of England, and of their havens and armies; wherof Whitelocke gave her a full account.

She asked him, in how many dayes one might goe from Plimouth to St. Sebastian, and many other things on that subject.

They also discoursed of religion, and the worship and service of God; wherin Whitelocke spake plainly and freely to her majesty, and told her, that those who made a mock att religion, and were atheists in their opinion, were not only most miserable in their own condition, butt brought others likewise into misery; and all of them would find, that God would not be mocked, nor such conversation be excused, butt would be brought into a sad account in the end; and that there was no foundation in any such people, or in their opinions, butt what was sandy, and would fayle, and all building theruppon would totter, and falle downe, and become rubbish: that the only solid comfort and true wisdom lay in the sincere worship and service of God, which was not only agreeable to the doctrine of trueth, butt to reason itselfe. To this, and much of the like discourse, the queen was very attentive, and seemed pleased with it.

16. Whitelocke received his letters from England, and, in those from Thurloe he writes thus:

“ The perticular account, your excellence gives of your negotiation, is very acceptable heer, as is also your dexterous management therof. The paper, you were pleased to send to me, shall be represented to the councell ; and your excellence may be assured, that a due care will be taken of that buisnes, as well for justice sake, as that your present buisnes be not hindred by things of this kind. The bales of the queen’s goods shall also be taken care of, and any omissions, which have bin therin, rectified : and I doe assure your excellence, that the queen’s commissary heer hath such speedy and effectuall dispatches in every thing he makes application for, that I know he cannot butt give notice of it to the queen.”

1653.  
Mar. 16.

Then he gives in his letters a full relation of the state of the dutch treaty, and all perticulars of it, and the likelihood of its taking effect ; and gives intelligence of the french newes ; and sends cotypes of Beningen’s letters from Upsale to the states, and of the posture of affayres in England, Scotland, and Ireland : and concludes ; “ therefore, with my humble thanks for your excellency’s favour to me of your weekly letters, and hearty wishes for your safe and honourable returne to your friends and relations heer, I rest

your excellency’s most humble

Feb. 16.  
1653.

and faithfull servant,

JO. THURLOE.”

Whitelocke received many letters from his private friends, his brothers-in-lawe, Mr. Hall, Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Eltonhead, Sir Charles Woolsey, colonel Sydenham, and one from Mr. Selden ; which, for the extraordinary respect therof,

1653. therof, and the person's fake (of whom the queen made  
 often enquiry), is fitt to be remembred, and was thus :  
 Mar. 16.

*To his excellencie the lord Whitelocke, lord ambaffador to her  
 moft excellent majesty of Sweden.*

“ May it please your excellence,

“ There is nothing happens heer, that can be worthy of  
 “ your knowledge, butt you meet with it, doubtless, long  
 “ before I could fend it ; indeed, I thinke, long before I  
 “ know it, so that I cannot present you with any english  
 “ newes : my still keeping in, from the open cold air,  
 “ makes me a meer winter stranger in my own countrey.  
 “ The best newes I have heard, since I had the honor to  
 “ see you, and that which brought me with it an ample  
 “ store of gladness, was the assurance of your excellence's  
 “ safety, which a false rumor, with great confidence, had  
 “ utterly destroyed heer. There is none living can, with  
 “ more hearty affection, wish all happyness to you, and  
 “ good successe in your great imployment there, and a safe  
 “ and timely returne, then doth most really,

“ your excellence's most

Whitefryers,  
 10. Feb. 1653.

“ obliged, and most

“ humble servant,

“ F. SELDEN.”

The occasion, of that passage in his letter of a false rumor,  
 was newes brought into England, that Whitelocke was  
 stabbed and murdered in Sweden ; and thus his death was,  
 with much confidence, reported from severall hands, and  
 from

from divers intelligences out of severall parts of Christen- 1653.  
dome. Whitelocke's friends were much startled att this  
newes, and the more, bicause of former intelligences of  
designes of that nature against him, wherof they wrote him  
word; and he was glad to reade the newes, and that  
(through the goodnes of God) he was able to confute those  
reports: they were kept from Whitelocke's wife by the care  
of his friends, till one, in gladnes, came to give her joy,  
that the ill newes of her husband was not true; which  
brought the whole matter to her knowledge, and herselfe to  
great perplexity, uppon the suddain apprehension and  
fright of it, though there was no trueth in it. Mar. 16.

Whitelocke, that he might not seem wholly to neglect the  
queen's favour, had sent a packet of his letters, which had  
no secrets, unto Mnr. Bonele, the queen's commissary in  
England, who wrote back an account to Whitelocke of his  
care of them, and of the commaund he had received from  
the queen so doe, and prayed Whitelocke to speake to  
the queen on Bonele's behalfe.

Prince Adolphe visited Whitelocke, and they discoursed 17.  
much of England, and of Whitelocke's buisnes; whom the  
prince perswaded to stay in patience for an answer, and  
he doubted not butt that he would receive satisfaction.

Whitelocke said, that hitherto he had bin very patient,  
and would continue so, and not importune any body to  
speed his answer, being it concerned both nations; and  
he believed, that Sweden would be as well disposed to in-  
tertaine the amity of England, as England had bin in the  
offer of it: butt Whitelocke thought fitt to informe the  
prince, and some others, that he thought his residence heer  
would not be long; and that, as soon as my lord protector



1653. should send his letter for his returne to England (which he  
 Mar. 17. expected in a short time), he would presently take his  
 journey.

They discourfed also touching his brother, who was to  
 succeed, and of the brotherly affection between them; as  
 also of the proposall which had bin heertofore made in the  
 ricksdagh of the queen to marry his royall highness, and the  
 councill's advice and endeavors to further the same; and  
 how it was not brought to passe, the queen being wholly  
 adverse to marryage, butt causing the succession of the  
 prince Palatin to be enacted by the ricksdagh after her ma-  
 jesty, if she had no children: and, in these perticulars, the  
 prince was free in his discourse; butt Whitelocke thought  
 not fitt for him to be so.

Whitelocke communicated to some of his company a let-  
 ter which he received from a member of a congregation in  
 London, which was thus:

*For his excellence the lord ambassador Whitelocke att Sweden.*

MY LORD,

“ The wise and holy carriage of Solomon, before the  
 “ queen of Sheba, are more lasting monuments of his  
 “ prayse then his targets of gould, or magnificent temple:  
 “ the glory of saints is a glorious name, by which, though  
 “ dead, yett they speake. God will not be ungratefull,  
 “ nor unfaithfull, to forget, or not to recompence, any  
 “ labour of love. The interest of Christ; what greater  
 “ jewell in the world! and yett how little liked and loved  
 “ by the world? All seek their own, not the things of  
 “ Jesus Christ; the best, the noblest, the most lasting, yett  
 “ not

“ not minded : our own things, poor, low, uncertaine, 1653.  
 “ unsatisfactory, yett pursued. The heart runneth after the  
 “ wedge of gold, and the mind seeks for greatnes ; give Mar. 16.  
 “ me honor or else I dye : a crown heer is more desired  
 “ then heaven heerafter. Divine love hath great daunger  
 “ accompanying it, butt the recompence is answearable ;  
 “ *be thou faithfull unto death, and I will give thee a crown*  
 “ *of life.* Learned Paul counts all things butt dung and  
 “ droffe to holy Christ ; and Moses esteemed reproaches  
 “ for Christ, and afflictions with the people of Christ,  
 “ greater riches then the treasures of Ægypt, or the honors  
 “ att court. And now, sir, will you have the meaning of  
 “ all ? it is only a christian motive to you, to eye the  
 “ highest Lord, and the best interest, with the greatest in-  
 “ dustry ; that his honor, which is best of all, be dearer to  
 “ you then all countrey honor : life, world, are not to be  
 “ named in the day of his glory. O mind him who will  
 “ not forgett you in the least ! there’s none in heaven like  
 “ him : can there be any thing on earth compared to him ?  
 “ Two things are chiefly to be minded in all actings ; the  
 “ spring from whence, and the center to which all moves :  
 “ if love to God be the spring of all, and glory for God  
 “ the center of all, then the heart is upright in all. Re-  
 “ member the blessed sound, *well done, thou good and faith-*  
 “ *full servant, thou hast bin faithfull in a little, butt thou*  
 “ *shalt be injoyer of much ; enter into thy Lord’s joy.* And  
 “ truely, sir, you have bin not a little in my thoughts to  
 “ God for you ; so hath it imboldened me thus to speake  
 “ to God for you. My soul and many more have bin  
 “ sett a praying God on your behalfe, for that noble  
 “ christian testimony and dislike of that wicked custome of  
 “ cup-health pledging ; wheras a christian’s health is God,  
 “ and his cup, salvation. And blessed be the Lord, that  
 “ did give you to dislike the balle of pleasure ; and that

1653. " the Lord of that day was so pretious. Goe on nobly for  
 the Lord; give your testimony against the wicked  
 Mar. 17. " customes of a strange countrey, or dying world; beare  
 " his image in all your transactions, and follow his steppes,  
 " who was the most glorious ambassador that ever was;  
 " and, in this motion, the Lord fill your sailes with his  
 " gales, make you holily successefull, and give you to see  
 " your land and relations, full of heavenly fruition, is the  
 " humble and hearty desire of one of the least sons of Syon,  
 " ready to serve the Lord in you or yours.

" JONATHAN PICKES."

18. Doctor Whistler made a copy of latin verses upon the  
 queen's abdication, which, for the ingenuity and fancy,  
 were worthy the sight of a prince, and Whitelocke sent

\* See appendix L. them to the queen, who was much taken with them \*.

Whitelocke was so pleased with those verses, that, having  
 a little leisure, himselfe turned them into this english:

What then tho\* northern heaven do'tt thou disdain,  
 New Atlas on thy shoulders to sustaine?  
 Wearied Christina, se'est thou any feare  
 Eternall empire ore the Swedes to beare?  
 O princely virgin, do'tt abhorre the strife  
 Of fasces, like the vulgar Stolo's wife,  
 That scepters look'tt for rattles? who doth bound  
 With starres her frame, yett cannot now be found  
 Content to governe those, who ready are  
 To serve, with all affection and care.  
 What doth a kingdome, or silke garments burae?  
 Unto what softnes of the mind doth turne  
 Gustavus' martiall race? of one so greate,  
 What thunder-bolts doe fright thee from thy seat?

Leto

1653.

Mar. 18.

Lett. croudes of gownmen prattle what they please ;  
 Wealth not to suffer, and if prosperous ease  
 Torment, a feeble mind this doth reveale,  
 Which hardly Jupiter himselfe can heale ;  
 Who easy to their health can poyson frame,  
 And give the grave to those that with the same.  
 Great one, thou rushest on thyselfe, and speed  
 Thou mak'st from such a strange unworthy deed  
 T' absolve the gods ; the thunder-bolts from high,  
 Which strike thee guiltless, by the cyclops eye  
 Were not directed. No, Christina, thou  
 Envi'st thyselfe ; none else could make thee bowe :  
 She falles by her own hand, her temples round  
 For sacrifice with her own purple bound.  
 Uppon the altar thou thyselfe do'st throwe,  
 A royall offering ; that it should be so  
 Unwilling, they who yett, if they could be  
 Thus sav'd, account it butt an injury.  
 Such preservation they would not take,  
 Nor Pallas sacrific'd for people's sake.  
 They fume, provok'd by love and not by hate,  
 Untam'd they champe the bitt of their new state,  
 And breake the unknown reines : thy softer hand  
 With usuall sweetnes gentlier did commaund.  
 Returne, though late, to the Elysian grove ;  
 So pray the people ; yett, when starres above  
 Compelling, thou from hence art snatcht away,  
 The fatall law as equall all obey.  
 To miserable men will comfort be,  
 That them to rule, it was not grieve to thee.  
 That better realm, thy heaven, with thee inflam'd  
 Might anthems sing, when Amarantha's nam'd.  
 Lesse trouble if the world thou see'st from high,  
 And do'st thyselfe shine in this starry skye ;

Secure

1653. Secure of thee, that the earth shall not see

Christina lessen'd or despis'd to be,

Mar. 18. What a vaine prophet am I this to say!

Thou greater art then fate; and fortune may

Disguise thee miserable to her shame,

Butt cannot take from thee thy virtue's fame:

Nor thy ennobled mind to give with ease

Lawes unto men, and thine own selfe to please.

As a queen alwayes I shall honor thee,

Direct thyselfe what thou would'st have to be,

I shall obey: fortune thou do'st adorne

With titles, and where titles high are borne,

Those do'st thou grace with virtues. Should'st thou stray

(As private persons doe) in any way,

Thou can'st not be conceal'd, thy native light

To suffer an eclipse doth shine too bright.

Refracted twilight of so great a starre

Obscures the light of those that vulgar are.

Lett people mysteries of state adore,

No great thing pleaseth them; they goe before,

Or follow after, with unequall pace,

Those unknown paths which higher minds doe trace.

A woman that may governe as she please,

And yett will not, butt seeks her private ease,

Is a rare bird in howses; much more rare

In courts such selfe-denying women are.

Thus to the world a patterne do'st thou frame;

If any one heerafter doe the same,

That man Apollo shall be unto me,

That woman Pallas shall accounted be.

Whitelocke having sent to know if the queen were at  
leisure, that he might waite upon her, she returned an  
excuse,

excuse, that she was not well: she came away sicke from 1653.  
 the publique schooles, where she had bin to grace the dif-  
 putations of a young swedish baron with her presence. Mar. 18.

Senator Bundt visited Whitelocke, and discoursed with him in english, which he spake indifferently well, and was the only Swede he conversed with in that language: part of their discourse was to this effect;

*Bundt.* Mnr. Beningen, the holland resident in this court, acquainted me, that his superiors have concluded the agreement with England: only some provinces desire a more expresse inclusion of the king of Denmarke, then is yett contained in the articles: and they are much troubled, that, being uppon the conclusion of the treaty, you make so great preparations of war, and have so powerfull a fleet att sea; and we heer doe much wonder, what should be your designe to have so strong a fleet, and so soon out att sea.

*Wh.* The designe is, for the defence of the commonwealth; and it is our custome, not to trust to the successe of any treatyes, which is uncertaine, butt to prepare for all events. If the treaty be agreed, it will be religiously observed on our part, and the navy will be imployed to scour the seas of pirates and ennemies, that trade may be free and safe; and we always use, in time of peace, to have a fleet att sea: and if the war continue, we shall be the more ready (by the blessing of God) to maintaine our right. Butt what suspicion have you heer of our navy?

*Bu.* We suppose it may be imployed to open the passage of the Sundt, and make the trade and navigation there free.

*Wh.*

1653. *Wh.* The hinderance of navigation there is more prejudicial to Sweden than to England: we can have our commodities att Gothenbergh, and in other places, without passing the Baltick sea.

Mar. 18.

*Bu.* Many amongst us know not what to thinke of your fleet, and it troubles some.


*Wh.* I hope we shall be in neerer amity, and then you will be pleased att it. Have the senators consulted about the matters of my treaty, or of remitting it to the new king?

*Bu.* We have not adviced any such thing, butt believe the best way for effecting your buisnes will be by the queen herselfe; and if any tell you the contrary, they are much mistaken in the affayres of this kingdome, and doe not give you a right understanding of them.

This being wholly contrary to what was informed by Monsieur Bloome, the chancellor's creature, caused Whitelocke the more to mind it, and indeavour to obviate that prejudice of delay to his buisnes; and finding, by this discourse with Bundt, how much the dutch resident and others heer were amused at the english fleet now att sea, he made use therof, and gave advice of it to his superiors in England.

19. Whitelocke sent to inquire of the queen's health; and, it being the *Lord's day*, she was in her chappell.

Divers English and Scotts of the town came to Whitelocke's house to heare sermons there; and among them was Monsieur Ravius, who acquainted Whitelocke, that one of the queen's chapleins asked Ravius, how long Whitelocke intended

tended to stay in Sweden : Ravius said, he would shortly 1653.  
 returne to his own countrey ; the chaplein replied, he did   
 not believe that, but he thought Whitelocke would stay Mar. 19.  
 heer a long time, and that he durst not returne to  
 England, bicause of the displeasure of the protector against  
 him ; and when he was answered, that Whitelocke came  
 hither not in the posture of a man out of favour,  
 and that the protector, since his accession to the governe-  
 ment, had sent him new credentialls, and expressed much  
 favour to him, and sent to be certefyed what respect the  
 queen gave him ; the chaplein replied, that Whitelocke was  
 sent hither purposely to be removed out of England, and  
 bicause he had bin of the former parlement ; to which Ra-  
 vius said, that many, who were of the former parlement,  
 were now in publique offices, as Whitelocke was.

There was cause to believe, that this and many the like  
 storyes were feigned by the holland resident, and other  
 ennemies of the common-wealth, to asperse Whitelocke and  
 his buisnes, and to give some obstruction to it ; butt White-  
 locke tooke little notice of such things, only he thanked  
 Monsieur Ravius for his defence of Whitelocke, and of the  
 trueth.

It was also related to Whitelocke, that the inauguration  
 of his royall highness could not probably be performed till  
 the feast of St. John the Baptist, and that then nothing  
 could be concluded in his buisnes till the feast (as they ex-  
 prest it) of the holy arch-angell St. Michael next following,  
 bicause it was fitt to be remitted to the prince for his finall  
 agreement therunto ; and so the treaty must necessarily re-  
 ceive a deferring till that time, which they said would be  
 best for Whitelocke's affayre.

Whitelocke told them, that it would be somewhat difficult  
 to perswade him, that such a delay of his buisnes would be



1653. best: he was sufficiently convinced of the contrary, and that  
 Mar. 19. such an obstruction would render his treaty wholly fruitless,  
 both to England and Sweden, and that he hoped to be him-  
 selfe in England long before the time which they prefixed for  
 the beginning of his treaty with the new king; and that he  
 dayly expected the commaunds of the protector touching  
 his returne home, which he should readily and willingly  
 obey, whither his treaty heer should be concluded or not.  
 He spake the more to this effect, and the oftener, that the  
 same might come to the care of the chancellor and other  
 senators.

20. Whitelocke visited Piemontelle, who communicated to  
 him the newes of the duke of Loraine, and that the united  
 provinces of the Netherlands had ratified the articles with  
 England: Whitelocke asked if Groningen had consented;  
 he said, yes, butt with this restriction, that the prince of  
 Orange should be comprised in the treaty, which might yett  
 cause some obstruction in it.

Whitelocke imparted to him some of his newes, and im-  
 parted such passages of his conferences and buisnes, as he  
 desired might by him be related to the queen.

Senator Scute visited Whitelocke, and stayed with him  
 above two howers: they discoursed of many things unne-  
 cessary to be remembered; some was thus.

Sc. I am sorry that the buisnes of your treaty goes on so  
 slowly; butt I hope you will excuse it, in regard the chan-  
 cellor is not quick in dispatches, and affects long delibera-  
 tions in great matters.

Wh. That is an argument of his prudence and well  
 weighing of things before he come to a resolution; and cer-  
 tainly

tainly he hath had sufficient time of deliberation in my buisnes.

1653.  
Mar. 20.

*Sc.* The chancellor some times may take more time then is necessary for one buisnes, and borrowe it for another ; he knowes the advantages of times and seasons, and how to improve them.

*Wh.* I have found it so ; butt methinks my buisnes should have bin so acceptable, as to have prevented such great delays.

*Sc.* Your negotiation as ; to the amity with England, was in consideration with the councell heer before your arrivall ; and all of us agreed that it was more desirable then any other.

*Wh.* I believe it would be agreeable to you who are persons of great experience, knowing the interest of your own countrey, and how considerable the english nation is ; and this caused a beliefe in me, that I might promise myselfe an answer to my proposalls before my departure from hence.

*Sc.* The great affayres of this kingdom, and the change likely to happen, have putt a stop to all other buisnes ; and in case your negotiation cannot be brought to a conclusion during your stay heer, yett it may be agreed uppon afterwards by an ambassador to be sent from hence to England.

*Wh.* My lord protector having testified so much respect to the queen, as he hath done in sending me ambassador hither, for me, after four or five moneths residence and negotiation in this place, to be sent home againe without any conclusion of my buisnes, butt the same to be remitted to

1653. the sending of an ambassador from hence to England, would  
 Mar. 20. be no answear to the respect of the protector in sending me  
 hither.

*Sc.* The parlement sent your excellence hither, as I understood, and not the protector.


*Wh.* My coming hither was att first by my lord protector's desire, he being then generall ; and, without his earnest request to me, I had not undertaken it : and, since his accessse to the government, I have received new credentialls from him, by virtue wherof only I have negotiated, and am the first publique minister imployed by his highnes.

*Sc.* It is a very great respect which the protector hath manifested to you, and by you to our queen and nation ; and that which you say carryes reason with it : I shall doe all that possibly may lye in my power to testify my respects and service to his highnes and common-wealth of England, and to your excellence their honorable ambassador.

*Wh.* You are pleased to expresse a great honor and esteem for my lord protector, and for his servant ; wherof I shall not fayle, by any service in my power, to make acknowledgement to your excellence.

There were many other complements and discourses between them ; and the senator fell into a relation of Russia, where he had bin, and of the great duke's bringing att one time into the field an army of 200,000 men, divided into three parties, wherof one part fell uppon Poland, and had lately taken divers considerable places in that kingdome ; and much more he spoke of this exploit, which is omitted.

Whitelocke

Whitelocke was somewhat surpris'd by the carriage of se- 1653.  
 nator Scute to him yesterday, and with his freedome of dis-  
 course, which shewed him either to be a courtier, and versed   
 in the art of simulation, or the reports made of him to Mar. 21.  
 Whitelocke to be untrue.

Now he seem'd cleerly for the league with England ; be-  
 fore he express'd himselfe against it : now he shewed civility  
 and respect to Whitelocke, and to his superiors ; before, he  
 spake disdainfully of them, and their affayres.

Butt an ambassador must heare and see many things, and  
 yett take no notice of them ; must court an enemy to be-  
 come a friend, as he believed he had done to Scute, who,  
 after acquaintance between him and Whitelocke, became  
 very friendly. Butt Whitelocke held it requisite to keep att  
 somewhat more distance with him then with others, bicause  
 he had bin informed, that there was not much of kindnes  
 between the chancellor and this gentleman, which was con-  
 firm'd by discourse this day with Lagerfeldt.

*Lag.* I intreat your excellence's excuse for my long ab-  
 sence, which hath bin occasioned by an imployment lately  
 bestow'd on me by her majesty, which takes up my time in  
 the discharge of it.

*Wh.* I doe congratulate the honor and favour of the  
 queen towards you, in this part of a reward for your good  
 service in England, wherof I was a wittnes, and have  
 affirmed it to her majesty : what is the office she hath given  
 you ?

*Lag.* It is vice-president of the colledge of trade.

1653. *Wh.* I suppose the office is profitable as well as honorable.

Mar. 21.

*Lag.* A competent salary is annext to the office, and with us, no person doth serve in any office; or publique employment, butt he hath a salary for it from the state.

*Wh.* That is honorable, and for the advantage of the state: one of your ricks senators was heer with me yesterday, and I had much discourse with him about my buisnes.

*Lag.* Which of them was with your excellence?

*Wh.* The senator Scute, whom I saw not before.

*Lag.* I wonder att his visit: did he expresse much respect to your common-wealth?

*Wh.* As much as any I have mett with.

*Lag.* I much wonder att it; but shall advise your excellence not to depend much uppon this gentleman, nor to be over free in your discourse with him, for he hath bin under a clowde, and is very intimate with the holland resident.

*Wh.* I thanke you for your caution; butt I have communicated nothing to him, butt what might be published.

*Lag.* My lord Eric Oxenstierne hath, by the queen's command, some papers, touching your buisnes, to be imparted to you.

*Wh.* Do you remember the effect of them?

*Lag.*

*Lag.* They containe some explanation of the articles <sup>1653.</sup> given in by your excellence, and some additions offered to them; butt not much differing from those exhibited by you. <sup>Mar. 21.</sup>

They had much discourse about these additions and explanations; wherof Whitelocke indeavoured to gett as much knowledge from Lagerfeldt as he could before hand, that he might be the better prepared to debate uppon them when they should be produced; and he declared his fence positively against some of them to Lagerfeldt, which proved an advantage: some of those additions mentioned, by Lagerfeldt, being uppon his report to Grave Eric of Whitelocke's judgement uppon them, were left out of Grave Eric's paper.

In the afternoon, Grave Eric came to Whitelocke, and they had this discourse together.

*Eric.* Heer is a paper, which I shall reade unto you, containing some matters wherin I desire your consideration, being they relate to the treaty, as touching contraband goods; that there may be such a liberty, that trade be not impeached, that prizes may not be brought into the ports of friends, nor ennemies admitted into the havens of the friends and allies of either nation; that the fishing for herrings, and the trade in America, may be free for the Swedes; and that they may have satisfaction for the wrongs done to them by the English att sea.

*Wh.* Heer is very much in these perticulars, to which I have formerly given my answear, and can give no other. England hath had no reason to give a liberty of contraband goods, when their ennemies deny it; and it were hard to forbid friends to bring prizes into the ports of friends, being  
no,

1653. no-prejudice to the owner of the port, butt a discourtesy to the friend : neither is it reason to deny a friend to enter into  
 Mar. 21. my harbour, bicause he is an ennemy to another, that is my friend also, whose quarrell I am not bound to wedde. For the liberty of herring fishing, it may be had from our common-wealth uppon reasonable conditions ; and for the trade in America, I am not instructed to assent to any thing therin : butt I supposed it had bin intended to send from hence to the protector about it. And for satisfaction of wrongs, I know none done by the English to the queen's subjects, and imagined that her majesty had bin satisfied in these points.

*Eric.* I have order to acquaint you with these perticulars, and to conferre with you about them, being esteemed by us just and reasonable.

*Wh.* After my attendance heer three or four moneths, without any answear to my propofalls, I did not expect to receive new ones from you so different from those, which I gave in with equall respect to the good of both nations : and I having offered the friendship of England to you in generall ; you answear, that it will be accepted, butt uppon particular and hard conditions.

*Eric.* I confesse there hath bin too much delay in your buisnes, butt it hath bin occasioned by the incertainty of the issue of your treaty with Holland.

*Wh.* The issue of that treaty is not yett known, and the articles given in by me had no relation therunto, and were proposed three moneths since.

*Eric.*

*Eric.* Att present we take it for graunted, that the peace 1653.  
is concluded between you and Holland, and that now you Mar. 21.  
are good friends.

*Wh.* I wish we may be so : and if that peace be concluded,  
there is the lesse need of your proposalls touching prizes,  
contraband goods, &c.

*Eric.* Though the peace be concluded between you, yett  
'tis prudent to make those provisions, in case of a new war  
with them or others.

*Wh.* I shall desire a copy of your particulars.

*Eric.* You shall have them; and I desire you to reade this  
paper, which is an order of the councell of state in England,  
delivered to Monsieur Lagerfeldt when he was there, wher-  
by these particulars are remitted to your negotiation.

*Wh.* This paper beares date after my departure from  
England, and I never saw it before, nor received any per-  
ticular instructions on this subject.

*Eric.* If you are not satisfied touching the point of  
damages sustained by her majesty's subjects, in the taking  
of their ships and goods by the English, there may be witt-  
nesses examined heer for prooffe therof.

*Wh.* I cannot erect a court, or commissioners, or consent  
to examination of witnesses in this place, and uppon this  
occasion ; nor can I take accounts of marchants : I confesse  
my ignorance.



1653. *Eric.* It may be contained in the treaty, that justice shall  
 be done, and satisfaction given to my countrey-men, for the  
 Mar. 21. wrongs done to them.

*Wh.* That cannot be so exprest without accusing our common-wealth, and att least confessing wrongs done, and implying that justice hath not bin done : butt I can assure you, that the common-wealth hath done, and will doe, justice to their friends, and to all persons ; and I shall doe all that lyes in my power for that end.

*Eric.* I shall informe the queen what hath passed in our conference, and know her majesty's pleasure therin.

22. Monsieur Lillycrone informed Whitelocke, that prince Adolphe had taken a solemne leave of the queen, and was gone into the countrey. Whitelocke asked, if it was uppon any discontent ? Lillycrone said, he knew not. Whitelocke asked, if he would not be att the ricksdagh ? Lillycrone said, he believed the prince did not intend to be att it, butt to travayle inognito with a few servants into France and Italy.

The french resident visited Whitelocke in the afternoon ; and seeing his coaches and horses ready to goe abroad to take the aier, offered, with many complements, to beare Whitelocke company, which he could not refuse.

The resident acquainted Whitelocke, that Monsieur Bourdeaux, now in London, had received a commission from the king of France to be his ambassador to the protector ; and that Bourdeaux had written to this gentleman heer, to salute Whitelocke on his part, and to signify to him, that Bourdeaux would be willing to intertaine a correspondence with

with Whitelocke, and had expressed much affection to his person. Whitelocke answered, that he should be ready to testify all respect and service to Monsieur Bourdeaux, and desired the resident to testify the same to him at his next opportunity. 1653. Mar. 22.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, who had some trouble in discourse with them both together, the resident speaking only french, and Lagerfeldt only latin; and he must answer them in their respective languages.

After the resident was gone, Lagerfeldt discoursed with Whitelocke about the treaty, particularly of the new proposals showed him by Grave Eric. Whitelocke gave the same answers to Lagerfeldt as he had done to Eric: then Lagerfeldt said, that, by command of the queen, he was to tender to Whitelocke a copy of articles. Whitelocke asked, if they were the same that Grave Eric yesterday imparted to him, and whither Lagerfeldt had any speech with the queen this day about them? Lagerfeldt said, they were altered in some part, so as to make them the more acceptable to Whitelocke, and that he had a few words with the queen about them.

This caused Whitelocke to marvel that the queen should pretend to him that she was sick, and therefore put off the audience which he desired this day; and yett her majesty found herself well enough to peruse and debate with Lagerfeldt these articles: butt he said nothing thereof to others, only made thereof his own observations and use, as he saw occasion. Lagerfeldt and he perused these new articles, and had much discourse upon them; and in effect the same as with Grave Eric.

1653. In the long winter nights heer, Whitelocke thought fitt  
 Mar. 22. to give way to some passages of diversion to please his people,  
 and to keep them together in his house, and from tempta-  
 tions to disorder and debauchery in going abroad, besides  
 the daunger of the streets in being late out.

He therfore had musick, both instrumentall and vocall,  
 in consort, performed by those of his own family, who were  
 some of them excellent in that art; and himselfe sometimes  
 bare his part with them.

He also gave way to their exercise and pleasure of  
 dauncing in his great chamber, that he might be present att  
 it, and admitted no undecent postures, butt seemly proper-  
 ties of habits in their showes.

He incouraged publique disputations in latin among the  
 young men who were schollers, himselfe present in the  
 great chamber, and appointing a moderator; and this ex-  
 ercise they found usefull and pleasant, and improving their  
 language.

To this end likewise, they had publique declamations in  
 latin, himselfe giving them the question, as An quodcuncq;  
 everit sit optimum, &c. so that his house was like an  
 academy.

23. Whitelocke attended the queen; and, after some dis-  
 courses of pleasanteries, they fell uppon the treaty, and  
 Whitelocke said to her,

*Wh.* My buisnes, madame, is now brought to a con-  
 clusion.

*Qu.*

*Qu.* Is it to your liking?

1653.

Mar. 23.

*Wh.* Pardon me, madame, if I say it is not att all to my liking: for, in the articles which Grave Eric sent me, there were many perticulars to which I could not agree, and I much wondered to receive such articles from him, being perswaded that your majesty was before satisfied by me in most of the perticulars in them.

*Qu.* What are those perticulars?

The articles Whitelocke had in readines with him, and his observations uppon them, having taken paines this morning to compare their articles with his own, and to frame his objections uppon them.

The queen wrote down the objections with her own hand, and then entered into a debate with Whitelocke uppon the whole, and seemed to be satisfied in most of the points insisted on by Whitelocke; butt was stiffe uppon the law relating to ships of war, which is mentioned in her eleventh article, and uppon some other perticulars.

After the debate, she desired that Whitelocke would the next morning bring to her his objections in writing; and then she said, we will not be long before we come to a conclusion of this buisnes.

Whitelocke thought it convenient to make his addresses to the queen herselfe, and, as much as he could, to decline conferences with her commissioner Grave Eric, whom he found more than others averse and crosse to him in this treaty: and the queen was pleased to admit Whitelocke to this way, and was not displeased to have applications in this


1653. and other affayres of the like nature, to be made unto her  
 ~~~~~ person; wherof Whitelocke had private information before  
 Mar. 23. from Piementelle, Woolfeldt, and others, whose advice he
 pursued heerin with good successe.

Her majesty also permitted Whitelocke to have a free debate with her uppon the points controverted, and would returne answers to every argument, with as much reason and ingenuity as any of her ministers of state, and be, sooner than they, satisfied with what was reason.

She told Whitelocke, that she marvelled that he having received those long articles butt late the last night, should be able to make objections, and to enter into a debate uppon all of them this day, when her people had much longer time to frame these articles. Whitelocke answered, Yes, by two or three moneths: after some other discourse, Whitelocke left her in a pleasant humor.

Being returned home, Lagerfeldt came againe to him to sift him, and to know what answer the queen had given to his objections uppon the new articles; butt Whitelocke fitted his inquiry, and thought not convenient to communicate to him more than what might advantage his business to be reported to Grave Eric; and because, in all conferences with the queen, no person was admitted to be present with them, not her own commissioners for the treaty, or any of the senators, for the secrecy of the business, which was much to the liking of Whitelocke, and furtherance of the treaty: they had much discourse uppon the new articles, to the same effect as formerly; and Lagerfeldt said, he doubted not butt the queen would in a short time conclude it to Whitelocke's satisfaction.

After

After this discourse, Whitelocke inquired of Lagerfeldt 1653:
 how the chancellor's health was, and what physitians were
 about him. Lagerfeldt said, he was still sick of his ague, 
 and had no physitian attending him, butt one, who had Mar. 23.
 bin a chirurgeon in the army, and now constantly lived in
 the house with the chancellor as an humble friend, fate att
 his table, and had a pention from him of 400 ricks dollers
 a year; who had some good receits, especially for the stone,
 which agreed with the chancellor's constitution, which this
 chirurgeon only studyed and attended.

And so it was generally in this great and large countrey.
 Whitelocke mett with no doctor of physick, or professed
 physitian, in any town or countrey, not any attending the
 person of the queen herselfe: butt there are many good
 women, and some private persons, who use to help people
 that are diseased by some ordinary known medecines; and
 their diseases are butt few, their remedies generally com-
 municated, and they live many of them to a great age.

Whitelocke received letters from England, which were
 alwayes wellcome, especially bringing the good newes of
 the wellfare of his relations: he received very respectfull
 letters from the earle of Clare, Sir Charles Woolsey, collonell
 Sydenham, the master of the Rolles, Mr. Reynolds, lord
 commissioner L'Isle, and divers others, besides his usuall
 letters from his wife, Mr. Hall, Mr. Cokain, his brothers-in-
 lawe, and divers other friends.

In those from Thurloe he had the perticular passages of
 the dutch treaty, and that he believed the peace with them
 would be concluded: and, in those letters, Thurloe also
 writes thus.

“ Your

1653.

Mar. 23.

“ Your excellence’s of the 27th of January I communicated to his highnes, and to the councell, who, although they doe not by this transaction of the queen very well understand her intentions as to the peace, yett they are very much fatisfyed with the management therof on your part, and commit the issue therof unto the Lord, who will either blesse your indeavors by bringing things to a desired issue, or otherwise dispose of this affayre to the glory of God, the good of the common-wealth, and the comfort of yourselve who are imployed in it.

“ The councell, uppon consideration of the whole matter, did not find it necessary to give you any further directions, nor did his highnes, especially seeing his last letters butt one did expresse his sence uppon that treaty, and nothing hath occurred since which hath given any cause of alteration.

“ The french king and cardinall, seeing themselves disappointed att the Hague, as to their inclusion in that treaty, indeavor to effect it heer: and to that purpose, the cardinall sent hither one Monsieur le Baas, to congratulate his highnes, and to assure him of the friendship of the king; and that, if he pleased, the king would banish Charles Stuart and his family out of his dominions; and proclayme the protector in France; and hath since sent a commissioner to Monsieur Bourdeaux to be ambassador.

“ The spanish ambassador doth also very much court his highnes and the present government. Don Francisco Romero, captain of the guard to the arch-duke, arrived heer the last night to congratulate his highnes in the duke’s name.

“ I have

“ I have moved the councell in the two papers your ex- 1653.
 “ cellence trusted to my care: what order the councell hath ^{Mar. 23.}
 “ bin pleased to make theruppon, you will see by their in-
 “ closed order, and my care shall not be wanting to see an
 “ effectuall execution therof.

“ Your excellence’s humble and

“ faithfull servant,

24th Feb. 1653.

“ JO. THURLOE.”

The councell’s order was this.

Friday, 24 of February, 1653.

“ Att the councell att Whitehall.

“ On consideration of severall papers, which came inclosed
 “ in a letter from the lord ambassador Whitelocke, and
 “ were this day presented to the councell, containing some
 “ complaints made by divers of the subjects of her majesty
 “ of Sweden, viz. concerning a swedish galliot called the
 “ Land of Promise, and a ship called the Castle of Stock-
 “ holme, and certain goods taken out of the Gold Starre of
 “ Hambourgh, and claymed as belonging to Alexander
 “ Ceccony, gentleman, principall officer of the queen’s
 “ wardrobe: Ordered, That severall coppies of the said
 “ papers be forthwith sent to the judges of the court of
 “ admiralty, and to the commissioners for prize-goods, to
 “ whom it is respectively referred, diligently to informe
 “ themselves of the true state of the said ship and goods,
 “ and what proceedings have bin had in the court of ad-
 “ miralty, or prize office, touching the same, or any of them;
 “ and therof to make report to the councell. And it is
 “ especially recommended, and given in charge to the said
 Vol. I. X x x “ judges,

1653. “ judges, that both in these, and in all matters concerning
 the said queen or her subjects, which doe or shall depend
 Mar. 23. “ before them, all right and fayre respect be given uppon all
 “ occasions ; and that whatsoever of the said goods, belong-
 “ ing to her majesty’s servant, they shall discover, be by them
 “ ordered to be forthwith delivered.

“ Ex^r. W. JESSOP, Clerk of the councell.”

This order Whitelocke caused to be translated into latin, and sent coppyes of it to the chancellor, to Grave Eric, to Mr. Ceccony, and to others ; and he showed it to the queen, and all were pleased with it, hoping for further fruit of it, and esteeming Whitelocke to be in good credit with his superiors.

24. Whitelocke made his dispatches for England, and wrote above twenty letters to severall of his friends there, finding it gratefull to them to receive letters from him att such a distance ; and that answears to letters are expected, and ill taken if neglected ; that they cost little and please much. He was hindered by Woolfeldt, who made a long visit to him, though uppon the post day ; att which he wondered, in regard Woolfeldt had bin himselfe often imployed as a publique minister, and knew so well what belonged to the making of dispatches.

To recover his lost time, Whitelocke (as he often used when buisnes pressed him) wrote one letter himselfe, and dictated two others to his secretaries att the same time ; and so in effect wrote three letters at once.

The letter, which he now wrote to secretary Thurloe, contained his whole transactions since his last letters to him ; and the

